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REVIEW**



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OF, BY AND FOR THE WORKING CLASS

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Subscription price, \$1.00 a year, Canada \$1.20, other countries \$1.50

Bundle Rates—20 Copies, \$1.00; 50 Copies, \$2.50; 100 Copies, \$5.00.
5 Copies 4 Months, \$1.00; 10 Copies, 4 Months, \$2.00.

CHARLES H. KERR & COMPANY, Publishers (Co-operative)
118 West Kinzie Street, Chicago, Ill., U. S. A.

Entered at the Postoffice at Chicago, Ill., as Second Class Matter July 27, 1900, under Act of March 3, 1879



Dear John:

I am sending the check which Mr. Davis paid me for the Christmas sentiments I sent him. Will you give it to the brave girls who are striving so courageously to bring about the emancipation of the workers at Little Falls.

They have my warmest sympathy. Their cause is my cause. If they are denied a living wage, I also am defrauded. While they are industrial slaves I cannot be free. My hunger is not satisfied while they are unfed. I cannot enjoy the good things of life which come to me if they are hindered and neglected. I want all the workers of the world to have sufficient money to provide the elements of a normal standard of living-- a decent home, healthful surroundings, opportunity for education and recreation. I want them to have the same blessings that I have. I, deaf and blind, have been helped to overcome many obstacles. I want them to be helped as generously in a struggle which resembles my own in many ways.

Surely the things that the workers demand are not unreasonable. It cannot be unreasonable to ask of society a fair chance for all. It cannot be unreasonable to demand the protection of women and little children and an honest wage for all who give their time and energy to industrial occupations. When indeed shall we learn that we are all related one to the other, that we are all members of one body? Until the or creed shall fill the world, making real in our lives and our deeds the actuality of human brotherhood-- until the great mass of the people shall be filled with the sense of responsibility for each other's welfare, social justice can never be attained.

With love from us all, I am,

Affectionately,

Helen

Wrentham,

November nineteenth.

The
INTERNATIONAL
SOCIALIST REVIEW

VOL. XIII

JANUARY, 1913

No. 7

ON THE PICKET LINE AT
LITTLE FALLS, NEW YORK

BY

WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD

"With heads uncovered, swear we all,
To bear it onward till we fall.
Come dungeons dark or gallows grim,
This song shall be our parting hymn."

From—The Red Flag.

WITH facts for a fulcrum and sentiment for a lever, we can move the world!

The world of labor is being slowly moved by economic conditions such as present themselves at Little Falls, N. Y., where women and children and men are struggling for bread. The facts regarding the situation there inspired Helen Keller, the world's prodigy, to give voice to the heart pulses expressed in the letter printed on the opposite page.

By the rarest good chance John Macy, whose wife is the teacher and companion of Helen Keller, came to Little Falls. A member of the Industrial Workers of the World, he took up his part of the battle by getting the books and accounts of the strikers in shape, by writing articles and reports. It was through him and other

mediums that the details of the strike and its attendant miseries reached the blind girl at her pleasant home at Wrentham, Mass. Sitting at her desk and surveying the mysterious lines in "The Hand of the World," she sees what philosophers, politicians and priests cannot see; have never seen. She reads unerringly the destiny of labor. Understanding the need of toil, she reaches out and puts in the hand of the world, not a dole of charity but a token of love—part of labor's own.

John Macy read her letter to the strikers at a regular meeting held at Slavoc Sokel hall. Helen Keller has never spoken to such an audience before. There were none but workers there, men and women, boys and girls, who knew but little English and were of many tongues.

It was explained to them that they were listening to the words of a girl who was deaf and blind; one who had overcome afflictions more severe than their own. They could not understand the meaning of many of her words. But they were like a mother's crooning, soothing a wounded child. The letter was a heart-felt greeting from a sincere friend. They felt the sentiment and the sympathy it contained. Their eyes streamed with tears. They burst into a hearty cheer. Helen Keller will get a set of resolutions signed by the strikers in many languages.

She may never see the embossed words or names attached to the resolutions, but she will know their meaning—they are written by "The Hand of the World."

Other remarkable letters were received by the strikers, one from a "friend" who had been saving his money to buy an overcoat. He had laid by ten dollars. He sent it all to the strikers saying he could get along without an overcoat if the money would help the strikers to win more bread. It is such sentiment and support that has instilled in the Little Falls strikers the spirit of solidarity that knows no defeat.

Some who sympathize with the Industrial Workers of the World principles and methods have sent letters with money and others have come in person to render what assistance they can to the strikers.

After the trouble precipitated by the police on October 30th, last, the organizers on the ground, Ben J. Legere and Phillip Bocchino, with nearly all the members of the strike committee, were thrown into jail where they have been held ever since, awaiting the action of the grand jury.

After a farcical hearing, Legere and Bocchino were committed to jail and held for bail of \$15,000. Murlando, one of the strikers, was held in the sum of \$10,000 and the others in some instances ranging from \$50 to \$5,000. The story of the so-called riot was told in the following proclamation issued by the strikers:

The blood-thirsty, murderous cossacks have shown their hand.

Police thugs of Little Falls throw off the mask and do the dirty work for the gang of

bloodsuckers who own the mills in Little Falls.

Today in Little Falls was seen a spectacle which has not been witnessed before anywhere outside of Russia.

Today the gang of fiends in human form who wear the disgraceful uniform of the police in Little Falls, deliberately went to work and started a riot.

It was the most brutal, cold-blooded act ever done in these parts. Nothing under heaven can ever justify it and the soul of the degenerate brute who started it will shrivel in hell long, long before the workers will ever forget this day.

The workers in the mills of Little Falls have been on strike for four weeks against an inhuman oppression of the mill-bosses. An incompetent law has been used by these mill-owners to reduce the wages of the workers from fifty cents to two dollars a week.

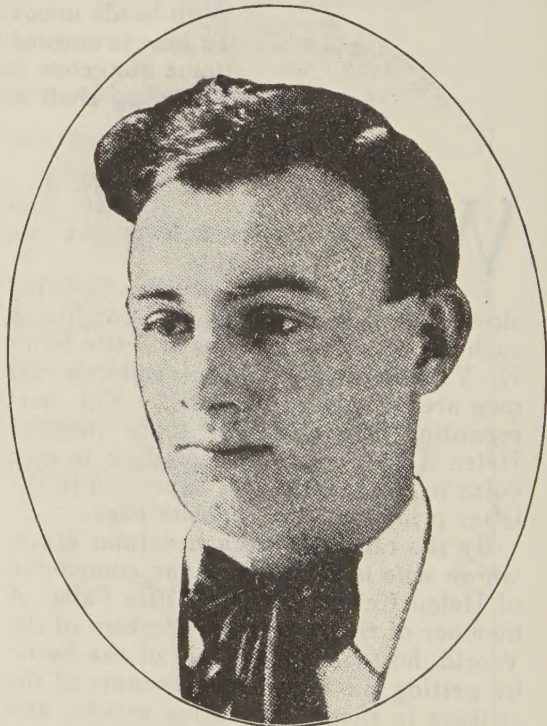
Hundreds of these workers were already existing on a starvation wage averaging about \$7 per week.

They resisted this robbery by the mill-owners.

They went on strike.

The police showed at the beginning that the filthy money of the mill-owners can corrupt all authority by attempting to suppress free speech in Little Falls. Several speakers were arrested. Then the strikers organized in the Industrial Workers of the World.

They began peaceful picketing at the mills



COMRADE BEN J. LEGERE.



Victims of Law and Order. Members of the I. W. W. in Jail at Little Falls. Red Banner Shown in Picture was Made in a Cell.

where many American workers, mostly girls, were playing the part of scabs.

The strikers, with a band and banners bearing appeals for support, began to parade each morning before the mills to encourage the other workers to come out. They did not interfere with the scabs in any way and by this means of peaceful demonstration the strikers won over every day some of those who were working.

The mill-bosses were baffled. They could not understand this new and peaceful mode of picketing. As the strikers kept moving at all times the police could find no excuse to interfere. But today the craven brutes MADE an excuse.

Every day more workers joined the picket-line. The first day one of these blood-thirsty police animals tried to start a riot by slugging a girl who stepped from the line to speak to a friend. He was number three who showed his cowardice and animal ferocity today by cruelly clubbing helpless prisoners and defenseless strikers.

On Friday the police struck the first blow when they tried to break up the picket line at the Rex mill and arrested one of the strikers' organizers.

Policeman number two, who fired the first shot today and whose aim was so bad that he hit one of the special bloodhounds instead of

the striker he wanted to kill, was the one who led the assault upon the strikers' line at the Rex mill.

In spite of all this oppression and provocation the strikers stood firm, refrained from one single act of violence and gained many new supporters.

Yesterday many workers joined the ranks of the strikers and one mill was completely tied up.

Then the mill-owners got desperate. Many girls in the Phoenix mill were forced to go home because there was no work left for them. A rumor spread that the Phoenix mill would have to close down today. The bosses, however, tried two more plans.

First, they brought in a herd of scabs from Utica.

Second, they set the stage for the tragedy of this morning.

The picket-line today was stronger than ever. Everyone was peaceable. No one called scab. All were singing as they marched.

When the line reached the Phoenix mill there were thirty or forty thugs there under the leadership of the mill-owners' chief, the brutal, ignorant tool of the cowardly millionaire anarchists who use the police to beat the mill-workers back into slavery.

He started the riot. He did it deliberately

and it was undoubtedly the result of a pre-arranged plot.

The picket-line was absolutely peaceable and orderly. They were acting just as they always have, making way at all times for anyone wishing to cross the street. The strikers are absolutely blameless.

But the chief did not want peace. He wanted a riot to help the bosses break the strike by breaking the heads of the defenseless paraders. So he picked out Antonio Prete, member of the strike committee, who was walking alone in the middle of the street and hit him with his club. Strikers ran to defend him and then his thugs began their murderous assault with clubs and guns upon the helpless women and men in the picket line.

One policeman, number two, shooting at a striker who was running away, hit another policeman in the leg.

The strikers went for protection to their hall, but the murderous bloodhounds assaulted them. They broke into the hall, drove everyone out, smashed everything in sight and fired several shots into the cellar in the hope of shooting I. W. W. organizers whom they thought were hiding there.

This assault on the strike headquarters is the most high-handed outrage that has ever occurred in these parts.

The whole trouble today was very clearly a police plot to break up the strikers' union.

The strikers were unarmed and helpless. The police are entirely responsible for everything that happened and will be held accountable.

The chief of police has been constantly threatening to "get" the strike leaders. Several other police officers have made vicious threats; one of them against the life of the chairman of the strike committee, Legere, who was rescued from the police today by the strikers.

Many of the friends and relatives of the police have made threats of organizing an "entertainment" committee to "run Legere and his crowd out of town," as it was expressed by one of them.

The whole machinery of law in Little Falls has been set to work most viciously in the interest of the mill-owners ever since the day when the prosecuting attorney began to "persecute" the organizers who spoke to the strikers because, as he said, "he didn't like their looks."

The strikers have never fired a shot, yet they are charged with the shooting done by a policeman.

The police have finished their foul and dirty work by "beating up" the prisoners in the police station.

Let every lover of freedom and justice hear the cry of the oppressed strikers of Little Falls. Can these inhuman brutalities be carried out with impunity in America?

A foul and slimy press has spread a lying story of today's struggle throughout the land. The strikers cry for justice.

Let the truth be known. Let every voice

and every hand of every liberty-loving worker in this land be raised in a thunderous protest against this attempt on the part of a band of murderous officials to turn an American city into a Russian shambles.

Let the workers in every mill and factory in the Mohawk valley go out on strike as a protest against this fiendish brutality, and make demands upon your bosses for better conditions. Workers take up this fight and help us win. Our fight is your fight.

Let us stand together and win.

Join the I. W. W. for one big union of all the workers and victory.

Little Falls Strike Committee
of the Industrial Workers
of the World.

P. O. Box 458, Little Falls, N. Y.

As soon as the authorities found that this proclamation was being circulated, they went at once to Utica, twenty miles distant, arrested the printer, confiscated 3,000 of the proclamations and dragged the publisher to Little Falls, without warrant or authority, where he was later released.

The many arrests, the brutality shown the prisoners after they were thrown into jail and other outrages by the police and hired thugs of the company, caused a state of excitement among the strikers that was only subdued by the arrival of Matilda Rabinowitz. She came from Bridgeport, Conn., formerly Russia. It was she who reorganized the shattered forces and got the committees in working order, electing others to take the places of those imprisoned. Miss Rabinowitz is as small in person as the smallest striker, yet disciplined as she is in the Industrial Workers of the World principles, she is shaping the mighty force that means victory. A book could be written about Matilda.

Others came, among them Jessie Ashley, a lawyer and sterling friend of the oppressed. She came from New York City as counsel to prepare for the legal end of the battle, paying her own expenses and contributing \$100 to the strikers' fund, making \$1,100, and more, that she has contributed to the strikers at Lawrence and elsewhere.

The Socialists of Schenectady, Mayor Lunn, Robert Bakeman and John Mullin and others were on the job from the be-

ginning. Comrades Kruise, Wade and Mullin came early, rolled up their sleeves and entered the culinary department, known in the strike quarters as the soup kitchen.

Money, supplies, groceries and clothing have been abundantly contributed by the Relief committee organized among the Socialists of Schenectady. The *Citizen*, a Socialist paper, has given publicity to the disgraceful conditions at Little Falls. All of which the strikers deeply appreciate and, while they cannot vote, as most of them are women and children, still they are in the vanguard, and on the picket line. They are marching to the music of the Marseillaise, onward to industrial freedom.

M. Helen Schloss, who is shown behind the bars on the cover, is a woman of Spartan mold, a Socialist of four years' standing; well known at the Rand school in New York. She came to Little Falls and took a position with the Twentieth Century Club, a fashionable charity association, to investigate tuberculosis, which is prevalent among the mill workers. When the strike began, she took up the cause of the women on the firing line and joined forces with them. This lost her a salaried position and landed her in jail where she was held for eleven days. She was charged with inciting to riot and is only now enjoying her freedom under bond of \$2,000.

Recently she has been arrested again while investigating the cases of some strikers who had been thrown into jail without warrant. Her unusual activity on behalf of the oppressed caused her to be looked upon with suspicion by the authorities who are under the control of the mill owners. A board of physicians, appointed by the chief of police, known as "Bully" Long, discovered nothing more serious the matter with her than a brilliant mind, a sterling character and a warm heart.

In spite of all the bitter persecution, which Miss Schloss has endured, she is still lending her strength to the strikers' cause.

Out of the West comes the young blood of the revolution, ever willing to fight for the political right of freedom of speech, always giving more than they take, but willing, if broke, to live providing Algernon Lee will permit them on a one 7-cent meal a day until they are privileged to go to jail for the cause of labor.

After all it is the strikers themselves who are making the real struggle. They revolted against a reduction of wages that came when the 54-hour law went into effect, reducing their meagre incomes from 50 cents to \$2.00 a week. As a direct result of the firm stand made by the Little Falls strikers, wages of other men, women and children employed in similar industries at Utica, Cohoes and other knitting mill centers have been restored and even the strikers at Little Falls have been promised 60 hours' pay for 54 hours' work, but they are demanding a 10 per cent increase and a 15 per cent increase for night work. This is what the employer gets when he drives his workers to organize in the Industrial Workers of the World.

If you want to help the mill slaves at Little Falls in this struggle for better condition, follow the example of Helen Keller, Jessie Ashley and Helen Schloss. Send your contributions to Matilda Rabinowitz, Box 458, Little Falls, N. Y.

Later. Chief of Police "Bully Long" has closed up the strikers' soup kitchens in order to force them back to work. This wrought great hardship on the women and children. But Schenectady threw open her municipal doors and buildings and gathered in some of the children. These and more will be cared for by Socialist "strike parents" till the strike is won.

Class antagonism accompanied by the class struggle is now an existing fact. The state is, so long as this class opposition and class struggle exists, necessarily a class state, and the government of this state, with like necessity, is a class government.

Wilhelm Liebknecht.



WHAT

NEXT?

BY

CHARLES EDWARD RUSSELL

Socialist Party Candidate for Governor
of New York.

IF ANY Socialist can lull himself into the sweet and lushy belief that gracefully and with a word of gentle apology the capitalists are going to retire from the graft they have enjoyed so long, he must have discovered a brand of capitalist different from any that has ever delighted my vision. On very good grounds we may believe that we have come to a turning point in the history of this movement in America. What are the capitalists going to do now?

Beyond question they received in the recent election a disconcerting wallop. Many of them confidently expected that the tide of Socialism would recede this year. The more intelligent and scheming had made every arrangement to that end. They had launched and financed the Bull Moose; they had set the nicely baited traps for all the half-baked reformers in the land. They had provided for Socialism every untoward condition. And instead of showing a decline the vicious an unaccountable thing sprang up and more than doubled its strength. It was stripped to the bare number of those that

wanted Socialism and nothing else, and behold there were more than twice as many of them as ever were counted before. The outlook is bad for graft, as you can readily see. What are the grafters going to do?

Well, not lie down and invite us to kick them out, certainly. Those among them to whom has been given any kind of a thinking apparatus must know perfectly well that bad as the situation is, now it is certain to be very much worse before long. They must know something of the hash that Wilson and the Democrats will make of government and something of the popular dissatisfaction that will inevitably rise and rise with every month of increasing living cost.

Therefore, they know that as things are now the Socialist victory of this year will be but small compared with the Socialist victory in the next congressional elections. What then? What shall avail them?

Not underhanded and cunning political tricks. They did all they could in that line when they brought out the Bull

Moose and it blew up on election day. There is not much more that they can do with such devices. They tried the Men and Religion Forward Movement and that went to wreck. They tried to enlist part of the church against us and that failed. They have tried for years to have their kept press lie us out of existence and most evidently that will not work. Now what?

There is among them a set that would like to resort now to force and judicial tyranny and the misuse of the courts and the legislatures. Anybody that can use his eyes can see that. Already we have seen in various parts of the country attempts to deprive Socialists of their just share of the election machinery. In New York and some other states laws have been passed for the express purpose of keeping Socialist candidates from the official ballot. In some places, notably the Twelfth Congressional district of New York, a Socialist honestly elected to office has been defrauded of his election. We have never yet had a national election in which the full Socialist vote was honestly recorded.

Far more sinister than these manifestations is the attempt to put the *Appeal to Reason* out of business, to persecute Eugene V. Debs and to imprison George R. Lunn.

We may well believe that the capitalists themselves do not yet see their way very clearly. Some among them evidently think that by granting a series of innocuous but specious reforms they can head off the thing they fear. This is the scheme of the adroit fakirs that manage the National Civic Federation and are now trying to line up that arrant fraud on the side of workingmen's compensation acts and the like soothing syrup dopes. Some think there is something in coddling labor men and talking about better relations between labor and capital, and we need not be surprised if some of these take to the uttering of dreamy platitudes about mild forms of public ownership. But the real tactics will not be decided by these but by the powers that hold the money supply and now control the greater part of the nation's industries, for these have

the eventual power and speak the final word.

In any event, one thing at least is clear—that we are about to enter upon a new and probably the last stage of the conflict and that it will be very different from anything we have known before; we are coming now to the point where the issue is vital.

These obvious facts ought to make the duty of Socialists just as obvious.

If the plan is to discourage and discredit Socialism by imprisoning Socialist leaders and destroying Socialist publications, then we ought to stand absolutely together and prepare for that. If, for making conspicuous gains, a Socialist candidate can be punished by being thrust into prison, then we ought to test that sort of proceeding in a way that will fasten the attention of the country upon it. If he can be sent to jail on such a charge then there is no Socialist that has any business to be at liberty. If they are going to put one of us in jail they ought to put all of us in jail on the same charge. If the courts can be used to imprison him or to imprison a man for quoting Abraham Lincoln then I shall have such absolute contempt for courts that I ought not to be allowed to be at large, and I doubt not that will be exactly the feeling of every Socialist in the country.

The one thing needful is that we should be absolutely united about it.

Or if the game is to be the pretense of specious reform, then the necessity is the same but with a different manifestation. For then the work will be to convince the new accessions to the party and the new element that is now revealed as working with us that there is no hope in any reform and that what we want is not reform but the revolution.

And that again we can only achieve by united effort.

Or if there are to be more arrests on trumped up charges or more frauds upon the election machinery, plainly nothing will avail except such a class demonstration as will put the fear of God into the hearts of such thieves as stole the Twelfth District of New York from Meyer London.

And this brings me to what I believe

is the gravest danger of all and the most probable line of Capitalist tactics.

Nothing can so much help the Capitalists now as dissension and strife in the Socialist party. If they are one-half as able as they have hitherto indicated, that is the very thing they will look for and seek in every way to promote. If they can divide this movement and start two factions to cutting each other's throats, Capitalism has a long lease of life ahead of it. Shall we be foolish enough to believe that they do not see this and that they will not try to take advantage of it?

Whichever way we turn, then, the lesson of the hour is exactly the same. It is to watch with a jealous eye any beginning of strife on any pretext whatsoever. If we stand together, not jail sentences nor persecutions nor reform dope nor Perkins nor Bull Moose nor any other device can prevail against us. And if we indulge in factional strife nothing can shake Capitalism.

There is no good reason for dissension; there is nothing in the party that is worth fighting about. At one time we were confronted with the peril of a Liberal-Labor coalition like the abominable hybrid that curses the movement in Great Britain. We are now happily delivered from all that. At one time it looked as if we might be threatened with ladylike and academic reforms from the settlement houses and that latitude, and good fortune or education or something has annihilated that evil chance. And again it looked as if we might be drifting toward the disastrous game of practical politics. We have outlived all that peril and are the better and stronger for it. The note of the election was revolution. The new element that is coming into the party is for revolution. By no possibility can this party now fall into either compromise or opportunism. It has shown that it is clear-headed, rational, uncompromising and knows what it wants, and there is nothing in the shape of a pretext upon which it can be split so long as we keep our eyes fixed upon the ultimate goal and scrupulously nullify any attempts that the Capitalists may make to introduce dissension.

Differences of opinion there will always be among us and always ought to be. If

we had no differences of opinion the party would dry up and blow away. But differences of opinion can exist without rancor and bitterness and without two camps that devote more time to fighting each other than they devote to fighting the common enemy. I think that on analysis all the differences of opinion that can now be discovered in the Socialist party are of a nature too trivial to enlist prolonged interest from the adult mind. There is, for instance, some clashing of belief as to the exact method by which the Co-operative Commonwealth is to be established. Well, nobody knows how it is going to be established. We might as well quarrel about the way the wind is going to blow seven years from today. It will be established in the way that will seem to the majority the best way and that will be a good enough way to suit any normal mind. I don't give a hoot how it is established. All I care about is to get it and to get it in the shortest possible space of time, because every day that it is delayed costs hundreds of lives needlessly sacrificed to the blood-dripping profit system.

It has been my fortune to travel into almost every corner of the country and to meet Socialists of all shades of belief. I have a firm conviction, as the result of much observation, that they are mighty good people no matter what may be their views as to the way the Co-operative Commonwealth is coming. There ought not to be any rancor among such people and I do not believe there will be when the results of this election come to be fully understood. If any bitterness has existed the present would seem an admirable occasion to forget it. Unless I have misread the signs of the times, any one among us that has an uncontrollable appetite for fighting will have ample opportunity to satiate his belligerency against the common enemy in the next few months. And that is the only fighting that is worth thinking about or planning for. If a man can by any possibility come by an adequate hatred of Capitalism he shall find in his heart no room to hate anything else. And if a man will do all that it is his duty to do against this monstrous and horrible thing he shall

have no time to spare for the doing of things against his comrade.

To be united and to foresee that the great gains of this year indicate greater victories two years hence, does not mean that we are likely to get a distorted view of the two spheres of Socialist activity. The need of the two has been too clearly shown in the last few months to be obscured. We are not in politics now any more than ever before for the purpose of winning office nor "being in." There is no substantial difference of opinion about this among the party members; let us hope there will be no attempt to create any such difference. If there is it ought to be met with a prompt disapproval. We have other work to do than to edge our way to the pie counter. While the Capitalist parties are deluding the nation with

that kind of a faking show the economic condition of the working class sinks week by week to a lower level, the purpose of the master class to create, if possible, a great body of industrial dependents is more apparent; and the only possible remedy for that deadly menace is more surely shown to lie in our hands. On consideration, all will agree that we have not one moment to waste in internal quarrels. They are too costly a luxury. If we want to attack anything let's attack Capitalism. If we have any bitterness let's pour it out on that murderous thing. All the other objects in the world and all the ambitions together are not worthy to be compared with shortening by even a day the existence of a system that is long past its scheduled time to get out of the world's way.

"Now, as to the second question: The question of unity and agreement. The answer is dictated to me by the interests and principles of the party. I am for the unity of the party—for the national and international unity of the party. But it must be a unity of socialism and socialists. The unity with opponents—with people who have other aims and other interests, is no socialist unity. We must strive for unity at any price and with all sacrifices.

* * * *

The disappearance of fear and aversion to us in political circles of course brings political elements into our ranks. As long as this takes place on a small scale it causes no apprehension because the political elements are outnumbered by the proletarian elements and are gradually assimilated. But it is a different thing if the political elements in the party become so numerous and influential that their assimilation becomes difficult and even the danger arises that the proletarian socialist element will be crowded to the rear.

* * * *

"On the ground of the class struggle we are invincible; if we leave it we are lost, because we are no longer socialists. The strength and power of socialism rests in the fact that we are leading a class struggle; that the laboring class is exploited and oppressed by the capitalist class, and that within capitalist society effectual reforms, which will put an end to class government and class exploitation, are impossible.

"We cannot traffic in our principles, we can make no compromise, no agreement with the ruling system. We must break with the ruling system and fight it to a finish. It must fall that socialism may arise, and we certainly cannot expect from the ruling class that it will give to itself and its domination the death blow. The International Workingmen's association accordingly preached that 'The emancipation of the laboring class must be the work of the laborers themselves.'"—Wilhelm Liebknecht.



A VEGETABLE GARDEN IN THE CITY OF NANKING.



CHANGING CHINA

BY

MARY E. MARCY



Photographs by Paul Thompson, N. Y., and Keystone View Company.

JUST at this time China is in a transition stage, and is likely to be for some years to come. It is impossible to arouse over 400,000,000 people from the sleep and lethargy of centuries and make them and their ideas and customs and institutions over in a day.

But the doors are open and a most important contributing factor is the changed attitude of the people on the superiority of the Chinese ways over the rest of the world. Today they are looking to the Western nations and planning to follow them in every field of endeavor.

H. Borel, in writing about a visit to a Chinese school, says that upon opening the desk of a boy scarcely ten years old, he found a book of compositions, one of which read as follows:

"Small Japan defeated Big China. Afterwards small Japan defeated Big Russia. How was it able to accomplish this? You think by ships and soldiers. But that is not so. It defeated Russia by its knowledge, by its education. It defeated the stupid Chinese and Russian soldiers, because education is so good in Japan; because the Japanese people are instructed in the sciences and are no longer ignorant. There is hardly a Japanese soldier who cannot read and write. China is much bigger than Japan and much bigger than Russia or any empire of Europe, and it has more than 400,000,000 inhabitants. When these people are instructed and know, China will be much more powerful than little Japan or the strongest peoples of Europe. Therefore the first thing China wants is instruction. It must start with that. Then China will become the first empire of the world."

Mr. Borel claims that this is a striking example of what is being taught in the new Chinese schools.

Many of the old temples have been turned into schools and elementary colleges and systematic training schools for teachers have been opened at many points in the empire. To boast of preferring old methods and to foster old ideas is to count oneself almost criminal among the progressive Chinese.

Travelers claim that there are more boats of various kinds in China than in any country in the world and without doubt they are right. The country is vast, and internal means of communication are of the utmost importance. China enjoys natural facilities unequaled by any area of similar extent. Three great rivers flow eastward and southward — the Hoang-ho, or Yellow River, in the north, the Yangtse in the center and the Pearl River, of which the West River is the largest branch, in the south. The Yangtse alone affords 36,000 miles of waterways.

China possesses over 100,000 miles of canals that irrigate the lands and help to make them the most productive in the world and the vessels navigating the seas, rivers, creeks, canals and lakes of China include every variety in naval architecture. These boats are borne by the rising rivers and towed or rowed back by the

labor of millions of human hands. Prior to the advent of railroads almost the entire product of China was distributed by waterways.

Millions of men and women still form a "water population" of China. Children are born, grow up to man or womanhood and die on these boats and are buried from them. At Shanghai many thousands of people live in houseboats crowded so closely together that one might walk long distances by stepping from one boat to another.

Floating hotels and restaurants there are to accommodate the traveler, and Flower Boats where the Chinese men of wealth may entertain their men friends at evening dinners and be in turn entertained by Chinese show girls or dancers. Duckeries are run by house boat dwellers, who raise ducks and other water fowl for sale. Several millions of people make their living catching and selling fish, which is an important item in Celestial diet.

In spite of the fact that mining experts claim that China possesses sufficient unmined coal to supply the entire needs of the world for several centuries, until recently very little coal was used in China. The people called coal "black rock" and did not know that it was useful for heating purposes.

The house of the poor man in China is built either of sun-dried or broken brick laid in mud and roofed with tiles or a mixture of clay and lime spread upon reed mats. It usually consists of only one room. It contains windows of paper. Chimneys there are none and no fire is used summer or winter, except the small amount needful for the family cooking. Weeds, dried grass, roots and other refuse do duty as fuel. Even the very rich did not, until recently, possess stoves, although their homes contained small fireplaces.

Coal and iron were necessary to Chinese railroads and the land contains them in abundance. Already there are over 5,000 telegraph stations and thousands of miles of railroad are completed and many more in the course of construction. Commodities are now being transported by rail in many industries. Steel mills have sprung up and China is now



THE FAMILIAR POTATO PATCH NEAR NANKING.

making and even exporting her own steel rails.

The march of the man from the land to the city has commenced. Thousands of Chinese are employed in the newly opened mines, and others are working in mills that are beginning to manufacture modern industrial machinery.

Often outside the walled boundaries of the great, quaint old Chinese cities are springing up new and modern cities and mill and factory towns. For the first time in the history of China men and women are finding they can earn more money working in the factory, and are leaving the farms.

Newspapers are springing up everywhere and the most patient, persevering race in the world has set its face toward modern education. Means of communication are open. Letters may be sent, and what is still more important, delivered within a reasonable period of

time. The whole land is agog with new ideas of modern methods in every field. A strange unrest pervades the giant sleeper of the East.

Copper and gold mines and oil wells have been discovered, of a richness that has amazed the world financial.

More and more young Chinese are being educated abroad, in England, France and Germany, but chiefly in Japan and the United States. And these young men are specializing, not on the cultural but upon the scientific side. They are studying electricity, chemistry, civil engineering, mineralogy and similar subjects, and they are returning to China to enter the field of modern industry equipped with all the best the West can offer. They have imbibed the ideals of democracy and, very often, of revolution.

And the Chinese laborers who have found jobs working among the proletarians of other nations are also becoming

Socialists and revolutionists. Dr. Sun Yat Sen claims that thousands of men among both these classes are sending money to China to carry on the work of propaganda there.

Roads are being built and motor cars are making their way over them, and the Chinese are talking of automobile factories. Horses are almost unseen in China and the motor vehicle will probably be another great universal modernizing factor.

China contains 800,000 square miles of the richest farming land in the world. The Chinese have practiced intensive, highly fertilized and irrigated farming for centuries. Under the old system nothing was ever wasted in China. Small pieces of rags were saved by the working class, for insoles of shoes. Refuse was burned for fuel. Palatable roots were cooked and eaten, as were the stalks and stems of plants and some flowers. Watermelon rinds and seeds were eaten. Men fought over the possession of small heaps of

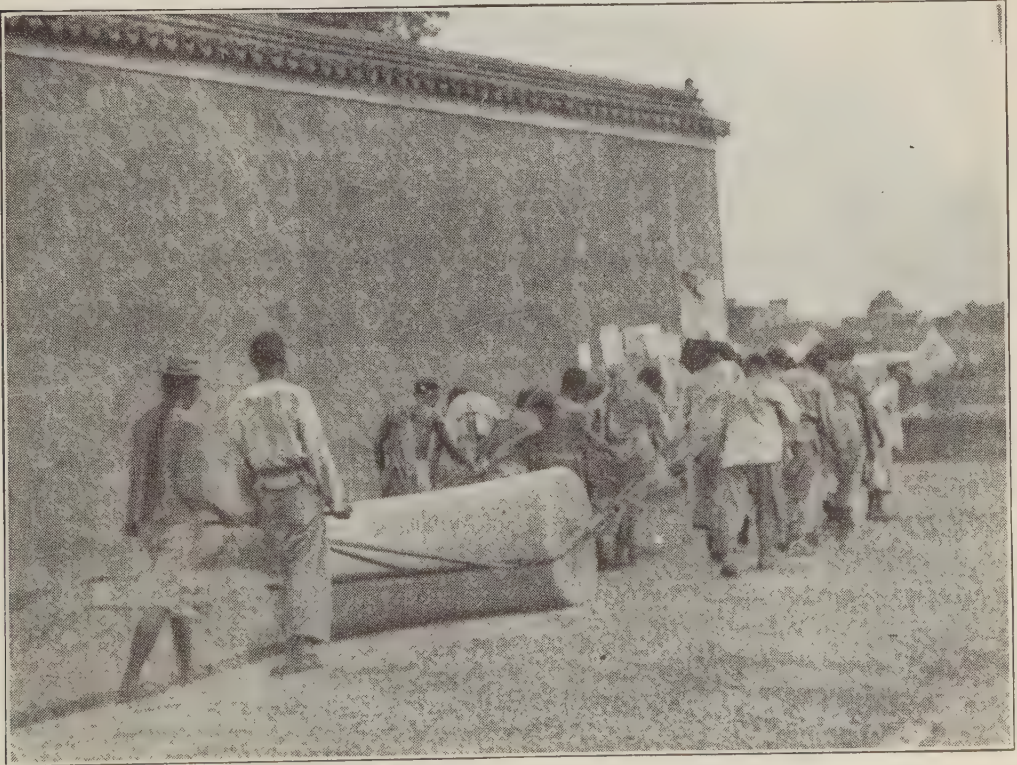
manure. Human excrement was sold by the ton for fertilizer.

But new methods will render these old ways unprofitable. A laborer will find that he can earn money to buy more than he could save through the expenditure of human energy. Labor power will become too valuable to be used in saving in the infinitesimal ways that formerly prevailed. Human strength will no longer be expended in pulling huge stones over miles of rough roads. Motors will displace it.

The Chinese will find that to compete in the world market the old hand methods of manufacturing cotton cloth must be superseded by the machine method.

China still makes the finest silk in the world and produces the best rice. Millions are still raising tea, and the people have developed a new process whereby cakes of dried tea may be shipped thousands of miles without suffering deterioration. These resemble plugs of chewing tobacco and retain their full strength and flavor.

Undoubtedly many wealthy Chinese



STONE ROLLER USED IN MAKING ROADS.

who saw the possibilities for money-making in modern machine production rendered much assistance to the rebels who overthrew the Manchus.

Many of these rebels are also revolutionaries, often Socialists. Among these the most noted is easily Dr. Sun Yat Sen, who spent several years in Europe and America studying the literature of revolt.

Dr. Sen is a Socialist and one of the most brilliant men of modern times. For twenty years he had gone about through China teaching the need for education and modern methods to the Chinese. His addresses were appeals to the reason of his hearers and he never asked any office or remuneration for himself.

It was a momentous occasion when the people of China made Dr. Sen the first president of the Republic, the highest position ever offered to any man. The people of China form over one quarter of the population of the world. But Dr. Sen resigned from the presidency because he

declared that he could do better work for the Chinese working class upon the industrial field.

A very large percentage of the Chinese are engaged in agriculture, who are over-taxed and exploited in many ways. To such Dr. Sen bears the message of single tax reforms, until such time as modern industry shall develop an overwhelming proletariat. To them he offers aid, and to the factory and mill and mine workers, organization. He believes that the Young Chinese movement will itself be fully able to carry on the new work of democracy, and that he can best spend his life in preparing the way for the Last Great Revolution that shall one day abolish exploitation forever.

"I am not essential to the revolutionary movement," Dr. Sen is reported to have said a short time ago. "Today there are thousands of educated Chinese who carry on the work." China may well be proud of her greatest man and her greatest revolutionist.



SEPARATING COTTON THREAD BEFORE
WEAVING NANKEEN CLOTH.

THE AUTOMATIC PROCESS

In the Cement Industry, Showing the Tendency Toward Automatic Machinery and the Minimum of Labor in the New Industries

By ROBERT JOHNSTONE WHEELER

Photographs Taken Especially for the Review.

Note.—This article presents a “new industry,” which begins with the use of the most advanced methods in mechanics; the reduction of laborers to a minimum and is rapidly approaching the “automatic stage.”

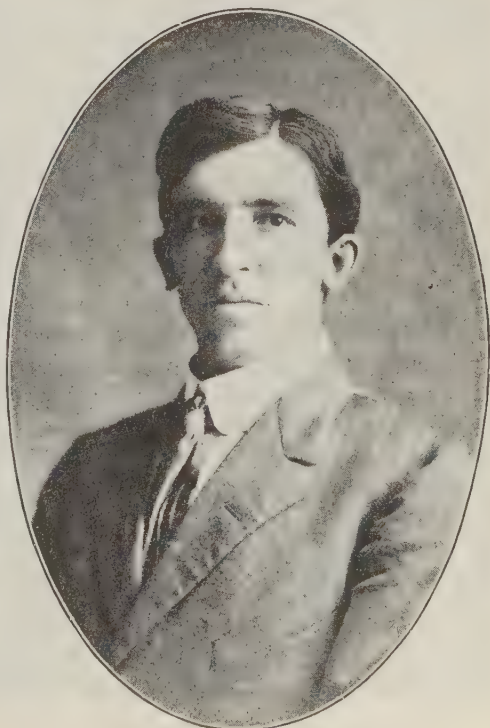
Capitalist economists contend that the “new industries springing up provide employment for workers displaced by machinery in old industries.” The Cement Industry completely refutes them. Here we have the most favorable conditions for the trial of this exploded theory: an industry producing a commodity necessary for modern civilization, a business expanding at a tremendous rate, a vast increase in yearly output. Yet we find the number of workers relatively decreasing. The important point is this: Though the wants of society increase and the industries to supply those wants spring up, the number of workers needed tend constantly to decrease, due to the development of machinery and “scientific management.”

There are no craftsmen to be displaced here. Craftsmen are not needed in the process of cement making. Outside of machinists to repair the machines and the expert heads of departments, the few laborers employed are “unskilled.”

This article is the second of a series being prepared from data gathered from the Committee on Industrial Education. With the publication of the material the Committee has no connection nor responsibility.

CEMENT is destined to become pre-eminently the building material of the future. Its cheapness, due to the inexhaustible supply of raw material and ease of production, its simplicity in use and its adaptability to any and all conditions of building, give it an advantage over every other kind of material in use or likely to be used. It was not until 1890 that the government began to give serious attention to the cement industry. In that year, all American plants reported a total production of 335,500 barrels. The demand for cement had increased to such an extent that we were importing nearly 2,000,000 barrels from Europe. After the year 1890, capital began to flow into the cement industry. The demand increased to such an extent as to far outrun American development, and importations continued to increase until the year 1900 when the amount of cement imported totaled 2,386,683 barrels. In that year, American companies produced 8,482,000 barrels.

Therefore, the year 1900 marks the beginning of the history of the cement in-



ROBERT J. WHEELER.

dustry as a great American industry. Since 1900, production has increased by leaps of from five to ten million barrels a year, outstripping the demand, driving out almost all the foreign product and has built up an export trade of nearly 4,000,000 barrels. The year 1911 saw the industry producing the tremendous amount of 78,528,637 barrels, with plants located all over the United States; as far south as San Antonio, Texas; at Concrete and Metaline, northern Oregon; along the coast of California and through the Mississippi valley; but with the principal producing centers in the states of Kansas, Michigan, New York and Pennsylvania. Pennsylvania has always led as a cement producing state. The Lehigh district produced 25,972,108 barrels, or 33.1 per cent of the total production of the United States, in 1911. Located in this district, about the city of Allentown, Lehigh county, are the largest and most modern plants in the industry.

Definition of Portland Cement

"Portland cement is the product obtained by calcining to a clinker a finely ground artificial

mixture of properly proportioned calcareous and argillaceous substances and finely grinding the resulting clinker. Only such additions are permitted subsequent to the calcining as may be necessary to control certain properties, and such additions should not exceed 3 per cent by weight of the calcined product.

Raw Materials

"The raw materials consist essentially of lime, silica, alumina, and iron oxide in certain definite proportions, obtained by mixing limestone or marl with clay or shale, or by substituting low-magnesia blast-furnace slag for clay or shale. The clay, shale, or slag furnish silica, alumina, and iron oxide. Impure limestone, called 'cement rock,' in which all the ingredients are present in nearly the proper proportions, is also used alone or is corrected by the addition of purer limestone. The mixture of raw materials should contain about three parts of lime carbonate to one part of the clayey materials. The calcination or burning takes place at a high temperature, approaching 3,000° F., and must therefore be carried on in kilns of special design and lining. During the burning chemical combination of the lime, silica, alumina, and iron oxide takes place. The product of the burning is a semifused mass called 'clinker,' which consists of silicates, aluminates, and ferrites of lime in certain fairly definite proportions. This clinker must be finely ground. A small and limited percentage of gypsum (hydrous calcium sulphate) is ground with the clinker. After such grinding the powder (Portland cement) will set under water.

Outline of Manufacture

"There are two methods of manufacture, the dry and wet process, differing from each other in certain details of mixing. In a modern plant using the dry process, the limestone and the clay or shale are brought to the mill in tram-cars are coarsely crushed, dried if necessary in rotary cylindrical driers, and are stored in silos. The raw materials are next charged in certain definite proportions by weight, as indicated by their chemical composition, into fine grinding mills which intimately mix the materials during grinding. This fine grinding is performed in various types of mills, such as steel ball, silica pebble tube mills, and mechanical mills. The product leaves these mills so finely ground that more than half of it will usually pass a screen having 200 meshes to the linear inch. The fine mixtures are then stored to supply the kilns. The modern kiln is of the rotary cylinder type. It consists of a cylindrical steel shell lined with highly refractory material. Recently built kilns range 110 to 240 feet in length and from 7 to 12 feet in diameter. The axis of the kiln is slightly inclined from the horizontal; the upper end enters into the chimney hood and the lower end receives the



LOOKING DOWN 200 FEET INTO THE PIT.

fuel nozzles. The fine raw mixture is fed mechanically into the upper end of the rotary kiln, where it travels slowly through the kiln and is acted upon by the incandescent gases which are forced in the opposite direction. Pulverized coal in an air blast is the fuel most widely used for burning cement, but crude oil and natural gas are also used in localities where they are plentiful, and producer gas has been used in a small way. Under the influence of heat the ingredients in the fine particles are fused together into small, hard lumps called 'clinker.' The hot clinker falls in a stream from the lower end of the kiln into a steel bucket conveyor and is carried into the air and cooled, then dumped into heaps and allowed to age or become "seasoned." To this clinker after seasoning is added a small percentage of gypsum, after which the whole mass is crushed and ground to such fineness that 90 to 95 per cent shall pass a sieve having 100 meshes to the linear inch and 75 to 80 per cent a sieve having 200 meshes to the linear inch. The fine grinding is performed by mills similar to those used for grinding finely the raw materials. It is then conveyed mechanically to the stock house for storage prior to shipment. Most cement is sold in bags weighing 95 pounds each (4 sacks of 380 pounds of cement constituting a barrel). There are devices for automatically filling and weighing sacks so that a large output can be readily handled."—(From the U. S. Geological Report on Cement Industry, 1911.)



THE PUMP MEN IN THE PIT.

The quarrying of cement rock is an interesting and important part of the industry. Cement quarries are great gashes in the earth, sometimes running down several hundred feet if the rock is of extra fine quality. The illustrations show the quarry workers at work in what is said to be the purest vein of cement rock in the Lehigh district. The old style hand methods are here shown alongside of the latest and most modern way of handling the rock. The work is done on a large scale. Tons of dynamite are used in a single blast, tearing out thousands of tons of rock.

The steam shovel is fast driving out the old method of loading the stone. Since only the best and most economical systems are worthy of note in an industry like this, we will not deal with hand

methods where machinery is used. After the steam shovel has loaded the rock on the cars, it is hauled to the crusher and begins its progress through the mill, coming out at the other end bagged and ready for the market. At no time during the process is it necessary for men to handle the material. The rock flows away from the crusher on a wide belt. The belt carries it into the storage bins. From the bins both kinds of rock are carried to the weighing machine and mixed in proper proportions. Belts now carry the mixture to the "raw grinders." Next it flows into the kilns and is fused into "clinker." Elevators carry the "clinker" to "coolers." Belts now carry it to the grinders again. After it is ground for the last time, bucket conveyers and screw conveyers carry it to the storage house. From here it is delivered to the "Bates automatic bagging machine" through chutes, and bagged, weighed and carried out on a belt and dumped into the



The Big Quarry, 200 Feet Deep and a Quarter of a Mile Long. The Rock is Drawn Up Through a Tunnel.

car. Men tend the machines, of course, but the cement goes through the whole process, from the quarry to the car without being handled by hand.

The process is practically automatic and improvements are being made by the inventors and "efficiency engineers" which tend toward making the process so perfect that less men will be needed from time to time.

There is a compelling force behind the effort to improve. Since the industry overcame the domestic demand, fierce competition has driven the price down until today there is

very little profit being made by any company. Prices in the Lehigh district have been as low as 60 cents a barrel this year. The big Atlas company, said to belong to the Steel Trust, has just contracted to supply the Panama Canal commission with 4,500,000 barrels at 65 cents. The ruling price, however, is around \$1.00 a barrel.

Many attempts have been made to raise the price. Associations have been formed and "gentlemen's agreements" have been tried, but to no purpose, apparently. The Atlas company, with a capacity of over 50 per cent of the total output, cannot be depended upon to maintain the price. So, the smaller companies are driven to exert their utmost efforts to improve the process and cheapen the product, or face business failure.

Each company employs "efficiency engineers." These experts are constantly striving to cheapen the product. The mills are divided into departments and each department is studied daily by experts in their endeavor to reduce the cost. In one plant, an ash conveyor was installed in the boiler room and eight ash handlers displaced. An automatic water check system placed on the boilers displaced several more men. The same engineer invented a "filter system" which removed



AFTER THE BLAST—2½ TONS OF DYNAMITE—5,000 TONS OF ROCK.

the lime properties from the water used in the boilers and effected a saving of \$4,000 a year on "boiler compound" alone. In another mill, the rock was shipped in on cars, unloaded, carried to the crusher and unloaded again. Sixteen men were required. By moving the crusher and running the switch over it, the rock was dumped directly into the crusher. Two men only were then needed, fourteen were displaced by the improvement. One of the companies has a system of encouraging inventive genius among its men. A box was placed in a convenient place into which the men were urged to place any plan for an improvement in their department. A reward of \$5.00 was paid to any man whose plan was accepted. A certain man offered an improvement in the signal service in the quarry. It was adopted and the man received his \$5.00. When the plan was put to work, it was found that five men could be dispensed with. Perhaps it will fittingly illustrate how "genius is rewarded" in modern industry if I mention that one of the men discharged was the inventor of the improvement.

In one of the plants of the Alpha company, a new machine has been installed recently. This machine is so efficient that it can produce as much "flour," as the ground product is called, as four of the

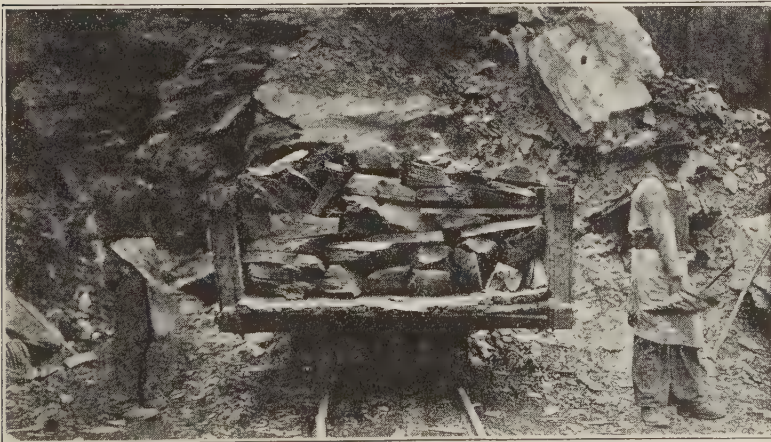


The New Way of Loading Cement Rock with a Sixty-Five Ton Bucyrus Shovel.

style now in general use. This means the displacement of more men and a greatly reduced cost of production.

It will be seen from the foregoing that the cement industry is full of interest to the student of economic development.

For a new industry, it has reached a degree of mechanical excellence attained by no other in so short a time. Its engineers have worked wonders with the problems they have had to solve. They have given the industry the full benefit of modern mechanical science. The result is simple, effective machinery and a rapid decrease in the number of



THE OLD WAY—COMPETITORS OF THE STEAM SHOVEL.



The Bates Bagger—Two Men Do the Work of Sixteen Hand Workers.



The End of the Process.

workers needed. This can be seen in the figures given in the late census. Production increased, from 1904 to 1909, 111.6 per cent; workers, 53.2 per cent.

Enough has been shown of the cement industry to prove that it does not offer opportunities for the employment of men displaced by machinery in other industries. On the contrary, cement workers are being driven out by improvements. True it is that there has been a demand for workers in the industry during the last summer, due to causes which, for want of space, cannot be explained here, but as the industry advances, the number of men needed will relatively decrease.

Preparations are now being made to install electricity for power in the cement industry. The Lehigh Coal and Navigation company has a great plant in the coal regions, north of Allentown, and is ready to sell power throughout the valley. The Lawrence Cement company, of Seigfried, Lehigh county, will be the first plant to use the power. The electrification of the cement mills will mean the displacement of hundreds of men, and will be a considerable factor in reducing the cost of production.

So much for the cement industry. But it is in the ultimate use of cement which is of greatest importance to skilled workmen. The use of cement in building operations and construction work of all

kinds, is making such progress that the crafts in the building trades are beginning to recognize its seriousness.

Our industrial schools, as conducted at present, devote much attention to the training of boys in the arts pertaining to the building occupations. The school people seem to have but little idea of what is going on in industry. The idea is that all that is required is to give a boy good mechanical training and his future is assured, provided he has ambitions. But it never seems to occur to these good people that an entirely new system of production is developing down where the world's work is done.

The rough work of the world is nearly completed. We have mills, mines, factories, railroads and farms enough to supply society with all the comforts of life. Tools have evolved from the "stone axe" and the "crooked stick" of prehistoric times, until today we have mighty engines which work without much aid from human hands. Almost are we arrived at the time dreamed of by the great Greek philosopher Aristotle, when he said:

"If every tool, when summoned, or even of its own accord, could do the work that befits it just as the creations of Daedalus moved of themselves, or the tripods of Hephaestos went of their own accord; if the weavers' shuttles were to weave of themselves, then there would be

no need either of apprentices for the master workers, or slaves for the lords."

And what shall we do with all these marvelous things? Perhaps some day a

generation will arise which will understand that only by making these wonderful creations work for all humanity will the good they promise be rightly utilized.

A. F. OF L. CONVENTION

BY

GRACE SILVER

THE 32nd annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, which convened at Rochester, N. Y., on Nov. 11th, marks a distinct advance in the labor movement. The old-time brother-of-capital unionist was there, of course; and Gompers had things all his own way when the votes were counted; but there was a militant minority which put up a gallant fight for progressive measures and made life miserable for the conservatives. The new unionism has taken firm root and, though unwelcome, persists in growing amongst the dead wood of the federation. The late convention was redeemed from the usual dullness by the activity of a large group of Socialist delegates.

The first real clash came when the radicals, led by John Walker and Frank Hayes, urged the national body to stand by the Danbury hatters, pay their \$240,000 fine and other expenses of litigation. The radicals felt that the hatters' fight had been for all labor and that all labor should therefore share its burden. Gompers replied, saying that the federation could not back up the hatters in any such manner. "If you do," he said, "you will simply be inviting more litigation. I want to warn you against injurious and dangerous propositions." Gompers evidently feared to tell the capitalists what a good thing the American Federation of Labor is—as if they could still be ignorant of that.

The delegates then plunged into a discussion of the Sherman Anti-trust act, under which suit against the hatters had been brought. Many favored its aboli-

tion, some its amendment. The Socialist delegates took occasion to urge upon the workers the necessity of a political party of their own and were rebuked by the leaders of the conservative side for bringing up a political discussion on the floor of the convention. The rebuke should not have been heeded, since Gompers had already endorsed Woodrow Wilson as a friend of labor in the last campaign. Dennis Hayes, of the Glass-Blowers and Militia of Christ, voiced the anti-Socialist sentiment. "I do not believe in class legislation." He tearfully remarked, "If we (labor) controlled the legislative bodies, wouldn't the rest of the community array itself against us?" Verily, the logic of a pure and simpler passeth all understanding. Gompers declared it was only necessary to elect labor men, of whatever party, to Congress, and to continue to agitate in the time-honored (?) trade union manner. When pressed for an explanation of a reported statement he had made, he publicly denied having commented gleefully upon the news of Berger's defeat for Congress, leaving it to be inferred that his private views were known only to himself and the Civic Federation. A Catholic priest was allowed to attack Socialism upon the floor, but Socialist delegates who attempted to reply were silenced with the plea of "No politics allowed." The proposition to form an independent labor party was defeated at the session of November 21. The federation will still continue its old policy of "rewarding its friends (?) and punishing its enemies" in politics.

The minority made a gallant fight for

the recognition of the principles of industrial unionism. The resolution recited that the lines are being more and more closely drawn between capital and labor; that the capitalists of the country have organized the National Manufacturers' association and other large employers' organizations for the purpose of destroying the trade unions of the country; and that in order to combat these powerful and compact organizations of employers against labor, the convention should "adopt and indorse the plan of organization by industries instead of by crafts, which often divides the forces of labor, and that the officers of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to use every effort to bring this about, and that they visit the different labor organizations and use their influence to mold sentiment along these lines."

The resolution was defeated by a vote of 10,983 to 5,929. It was vigorously defended by A. Kugler, Frank Hayes, John Walker, John P. White, Duncan McDonald, and Joseph Cannon. Even John Mitchell, acting under instructions from the United Mine Workers, worked and voted for its passage. One cannot but wonder how he will explain his conduct to Brother Capital and the Catholic church.

A motion to indorse the newspaper strike in Chicago was also defeated, but not without a heated discussion. The convention voted to send a committee to Chicago, the mission of which shall be to establish "amicable relations" between the newspaper trust and the strikers. James Freel, president of the stereotypers, branded the strike as illegal, and shamelessly gave a detailed account of the insubordination of the men who refused to return to work after he had ordered them to do so. Thus was union scabbery officially indorsed.

The convention voted to back up the structural iron workers on trial at Indianapolis until their guilt had been proven beyond a doubt. A few timid souls, notably Dennis Hayes, a sharpshooter of God, Militia of Christer, and incident-

ally a glassblower, objected. Corporal Hayes declared that he was opposed to taking action regarding the accused men until they had been proven innocent of the dynamite charges, when, of course, like Wm. Jennings Bryan after the acquittal of Haywood, he would proclaim eternal faith in their innocence. He whined about its being "a delicate situation," and said that the convention "must not put its foot into it." The colossal stupidity and treasonable depths of this particular labor fakir are conspicuous enough to distinguish him, even in a national gathering of the American Federation of Labor.

A resolution in favor of equal suffrage was passed and the body went on record as opposed to compulsory arbitration in labor disputes, indicating a certain amount of intelligence on the part of the majority. But the proposition to elect their own officers by referendum was defeated by a large majority.

Of course, Gompers succeeds himself as president. He has not the slightest intention of returning to the cigar makers' trade. Nevertheless, both as labor leader and as a personality, he is steadily decreasing in importance. He remains in office, re-elected by a vote of 11,974 to 5,074 for Max Hayes. Never before has so large a vote been cast against him. His opponent, an avowed Socialist, had no official machinery to aid him, had made no personal campaign. It is plain to be seen, therefore, that at least half the membership of the American Federation of Labor are tired of Gompers and the methods he stands for. Even Gompers can see that. Progressive members of his own organization feel that he and his ideas have failed utterly. These men refuse to be held back. They know that the American Federation of Labor must revolutionize its methods or it must give way to some newer and better organization of labor which can and will fight the battles of the working class. And the progressives have willed that it shall not decay, but that it shall be born again as a militant industrial union.



Miners' Wives with Rifles Guarded Their Homes at Eskdale Before Martial Law Was Declared.

THE CABIN CREEK VICTORY

By JAMES MORTON

Photographs by Paul Thompson.

THERE is rejoicing after many months in the Kanawha district in West Virginia. In spite of the subserviency of the Big Bull Moose governor to the interests of the coal barons, in spite of the steady flux of scabs into the coal district, the plutocracy has gone down to ignominious defeat before the splendid solidarity shown by the striking miners.

Twice the REVIEW has attempted to give its readers word pictures of the terrible brutalities of the thugs that have faithfully served the interests of the mine owners. But words fail to convey any idea of the conditions in the Kanawha district.

More than once the women and children were openly attacked and an attempt made to drive them off company grounds and into the river. It was thought such methods would drive the men into overt acts that would justify the soldiers

in shooting down the rebels. And the miners did not sit down tamely and permit their wives and children to be murdered before their eyes. In some instances, it is reported, they started a little excitement all their own so that the troops might be drawn off to protect the property of their masters. We have even read that some mine guards mysteriously disappeared.

Then, with wonderful dispatch, tents began to appear and were flung up in nearby vacant lots and the miners and their families settled down in grim determination to "stick it out" and win. They say that many women were provided with guns in order to protect themselves and their children from the armed thugs that came to molest them.

Every train brought hosts of scabs and again recently martial law was declared. The troops were on hand to protect the scabs and incidentally to see that they

remained at work. But the rosy promises of soft berths made to the scabs failed to materialize. They found coal mining anything but the pleasant pastime they had expected. They found they were required to dig coal and work long hours for low pay, and one by one, as the opportunity arose, they silently faded away for greener fields and pastures new.

The miners showed no signs of yielding. In spite of low rations constant intimidation and cold weather the strikers gathered in groups to discuss Socialism and plans for holding out for the surrender of the bosses. During the fall election the miners voted the Socialist party ticket almost unanimously. The strike brought home to these men the truth of the class struggle in all its hideousness.

And the scabs came and went. Individually and collectively they struck by shaking the dust of the Kanawha district from their feet. Probably the mine owners discovered that it would cost a great deal more for a much smaller output of coal than it would to yield all the demands of the strikers.

It is reported that the men are to go back after having secured a nine-hour

workday and a 20 per cent increase in wages.

The Kanawha fight has been one of the most inspiring in the history of the American labor movement. It has shown that when even a small group of workers in an industry learns to act as one man, they may sometimes wrest a little more from the exploiting class. And the Kanawha miners have learned that when the workers fight together as a class on the political, as well as on the economic field, they will be invincible.

In writing up the report of the commission appointed by Governor Glasscock to investigate the conditions of the miners and the situation in the Kanawha district, the *Huntington Socialist and Labor Star* says:

The commission, composed of a catholic priest, a tin soldier and a politician (note the absence of any representative of miners on it), after several months of junketing at the expense of the state, reports the following wonderful discoveries:

That every man has a right to quit his employment—

But—

He has absolutely no right to try to prevent any other man from taking his job.

Labor has the right to organize—

But—

Its organization has no right to induce peo-



How the Striking Miners' Families Lived along Cabin Creek After They Had Been Evicted from the Company Owned Cabin.

ple to become members of it.

That the miners are clearly in the wrong in trying to induce others not to work on the terms they themselves reject.

That the miners seek to destroy company property.

That the effort to arouse the workers by public speeches be condemned with emphasis.

That it is "imperatively necessary" that the hands of the governor be strengthened so that he may compel local peace officers to perform their duty.

That the chief cause of the trouble on Paint and Cabin creeks was the attempt by the United Mine Workers of America to organize the miners into unions in order that they might act co-operatively in bettering their hard conditions.

That the West Virginia coal miners receive the lucrative sum of \$554 per year and there was absolutely no reason in their demand for higher wages.

Taken all in all the report is just what could have been expected from the Coal Operators' Association—or from the men who made it. It proudly points to the fact that the average miner receives nearly \$600 for a year's hard labor—but touches lightly on the cost of living as per coal company commissary prices.

As for the "guards," the inhuman hyenas which camped in the kennels of the coal operators—the commission recommends that they be called "watchmen" in the future.

The report says:

"Mild-eyed men, seventy-five per cent of them with usually cool Anglo-Saxon blood in their veins and with instincts leaning to law and order inherited down through the centuries, gradually saw red, and with minds bent on havoc and slaughter marched from union districts across the river like Hugheston, Cannelton and Boomer, patrolled the woods overhanging the creek bed and the mining plants, finally massing on the ridges at the headwaters and arranging a march to sweep down Cabin creek and destroy everything before them to the junction.

"Meanwhile the operators hurried in over a hundred guards heavily armed, purchased several deadly machine guns and many thousand of rounds of ammunition. Several murders were perpetrated and all who could got away; men, women and children fled in terror and many hid in cellars and caves."

You would naturally suppose that the commissioners would have found some cause which would make mild-eyed men grab a Winchester and charge an operator's battery of machine guns—they did. It was the attempt of agitators to inflame the minds of the prosperous coal miners that caused all the trouble, and the commission recommends:

"That the efforts to inflame the public mind by wild speeches is to be condemned with emphasis."

The commission ends its report by pointing out that in many instances the coal miners have been able to purchase farms and even go into business for themselves. All that is

necessary for a miner in West Virginia to do in order to wax fat and rich is to stop his ears to the "efforts of agitators to inflame him" save a part of his munificent \$554 yearly salary for a year or two and purchase a farm—or a seat in the United States senate.

The *Huntington Socialist and Labor Star* is doing great work, and has helped very materially to show the public just what condition the miners have been fighting in the Kanawha district and how to improve them and abolish them altogether.

The United Mine Workers' Journal of December 12 says:

"The victory of the union miners at Coalberg, at the mouth of Cabin Creek, is one more step in advance. Some three hundred of the boys will be able to return to work under conditions that they have never enjoyed since the union was destroyed on Cabin Creek in 1904.

"But the fight is not yet won.

"On Paint Creek, and the great majority of the mines on Cabin Creek, our men are still fighting for an assurance of conditions that will justify them to return to work; conditions that can no longer be claimed impossibly exorbitant by the operators of those mines in the face of the fact that operators, competing with those others, have conceded the scale asked by the miners and expect to conduct their business with profit to themselves.

"We, in the organized fields, must remember that there are still thousands of men, women and children evicted from their homes and camped in tents on the hillsides this bleak December weather.

"In a little over a week the glad Christmas time will be with us once more.

Let us not forget these brave men and their families, cheerfully suffering untold hardships; uncomplaining, but grateful for what assistance they have already received from their more fortunate brothers.

"Remember the bleak, unproductive country in which they have had to make their fight; the fact that their exploitation was so complete while they were still working as to preclude the possibility of any savings of their own; and lastly, the bitter length of the strike, now over eight months; remember their loyalty; not a defection among them; men, women and children bravely bearing the hardships that necessarily accompany a struggle closely bordering on a state of war.

"And so, let us all give what we can possibly spare to help make at least the semblance of Christmas cheer on the bleak hillsides of West Virginia.

"We know you have not overly much of the good things of this world. But always it has been the workers who have shown the true spirit of brotherhood by sharing what little they can spare with their less fortunate fellow worker.

"The dawn is breaking in West Virginia; but the day is not yet. Let us all strive to make conditions less difficult for our struggling fellow workers."

On With the Campaign

BY

Tom J. Lewis

HERE we are on the firing line again; after one of the most remarkable campaigns ever waged in the political history of the United States, and we have come out of it victorious in spite of all the Bull-Reform.

We are victorious not by the number of comrades elected to office, but rather by the great vote cast, which means that we have more than doubled our strength of four years ago; and further, we forced the enemy to combine against us in many places, showing the class-struggle very clearly on the political field. At the same time we learned that we must hew to the line uncompromisingly without fear or favor, delivering the goods that will eventually educate the workers to organize both on the industrial and political field.

As the returns indicate, the rise was general with very few exceptions, and no doubt the reason the vote failed to increase in those exceptional places, was due to apathy more than anything else, for according to all accounts where the comrades were awake to the possibilities and worked, great gains were the case.

They were well paid for their activity, but we must expect such things owing to conditions on the one hand, and a lack of organized effort on the other. Also we must take into consideration that many were carried away by the promises of the "Bull-Moose" party, claiming to be a reform organization.

But we can be thankful for that. Such raw material would be a danger to the working-class party when it can be fooled and led so easily. Elements that still look for a leader or a saviour to lead them out of bondage would be a detriment to the Socialist party. They would have a tendency to weaken rather than strengthen us, as we could not possibly depend on them.

We must build on a solid foundation, the material to work on is here. We must take advantage of it by immediately getting into the harness with literature that will educate the new party member not only on the great class-conflict, but also as to the best method of organization.

The struggle for existence will become more intensified as capitalism keeps on developing. Machinery, evolving to a higher stage, will displace labor and increase the unemployed army to such an extent that poverty and crime will become rampant. People will be driven to desperation.

The spirit of unrest will become so prevalent that we must prepare to meet it with intelligence and decision. We can prevent the foe from using worker against worker by uniting them under the banner of International Socialism, the hope of the world.

PUBLIC SPEAKING

BY

FRANK BOHN

SECOND ARTICLE



FRANK BOHN.

THE question has been raised as regards the advisability of using certain text-books in the work of this course. It is thought by some that many will not be enabled to purchase the books required. Let me hasten to say that this course is intended for those who are seriously planning to speak or write on the subject of Socialism. If hundreds of people are to be invited to hear you speak or read your article you can spend five dollars for the books required in the work of preparation.

Now one thing above all others is absolutely necessary if you are to teach Socialism in America—that is a sound knowledge of the industrial and political history and government of the United States. To put the matter plainly: if you do not secure this knowledge you are quite likely to make a fool of yourself when you come to speak publicly. You cannot understand the theories of Marx and Engels by reading their theoretical works. You must go to the source from which Marx and Engels derived their theories.

The Colonial Period in America.

For the coming month read the first chapters of Bogart's work and cover the same period in your political history of the United States. Read with especial care the part devoted to the European beginnings of American history. When you have completed the month's reading think over the following topics and write for your own criticism a short article upon one of them:

(1) The economic forces which led to the discovery and colonization of America.

(2) The economic and social effects of the physiography of the Eastern coast of America upon the life of the colonists.

(3) The commercial nature of the capitalism of the period of discovery and colonization as distinct from the industrial capitalism of the Nineteenth Century.

(4) The specific economic conditions and means of production used by the various groups of colonists.

Do not ignore the political, military and religious aspects of history. These are fundamentally a *part* of economic history. Note the significance of sea power in the three centuries' long struggle of England for the mastery of the world's commerce. Again, one of the great forces still at work in the social life of America is the old puritanic system of religion and morals. Its adherents are now striving to readjust this system to the changing conditions of social life. This is now finding expression politically in the Progressive party.

But you will meet it in the Socialist movement wherever there are a large percentage of Americans. Be careful to understand it. And you can understand it only by studying its history.

If you can possibly take the time, go to a library and read the chapters in Green's *Short History of the English People*; which deals with the English Revolution, and as much as you can of Cheyney's

European Background of American History. Make this work the chief business of life. You may have to train yourself to enjoy it. Whenever you have time go and read.

Beginning to Speak.

Naturally you will first begin to speak at the business meetings of your Socialist local or labor union. Your remarks will have to do with the very ordinary matters of business which come before the local. Of course, everybody who attends such meetings knows that the larger portion of the speaking heard on such occasions is done absolutely without thinking. Therefore:

(1) Understand the business before the house before you rise to speak.

(2) Be positive of your position unless you merely seek information.

(3) Have just what you wish to say clearly defined in your own mind.

(4) Do not speak unless you have something new to contribute or unless your voice will carry needed weight in the discussion.

(5) Speak in a low tone—exactly as though you were seated in your own home engaged in conversation with a few friends. Speak just loud enough to be distinctly heard by all in the room. Those who are careful to keep their voices under perfect control are apt to keep their minds calm. Let yourself become excited and you will make statements you never intended to make. When you wish to be emphatic do not shout.

Speak more rapidly or more slowly or let your voice suggest emotion. Form a habit of often pausing for an instant and taking a view of the situation, specifically as regards the effect of your remarks upon your audience.

(6) Be brief. If you are allowed five minutes, try to complete your remarks in two. Never repeat unless to summarize your statements at the close.

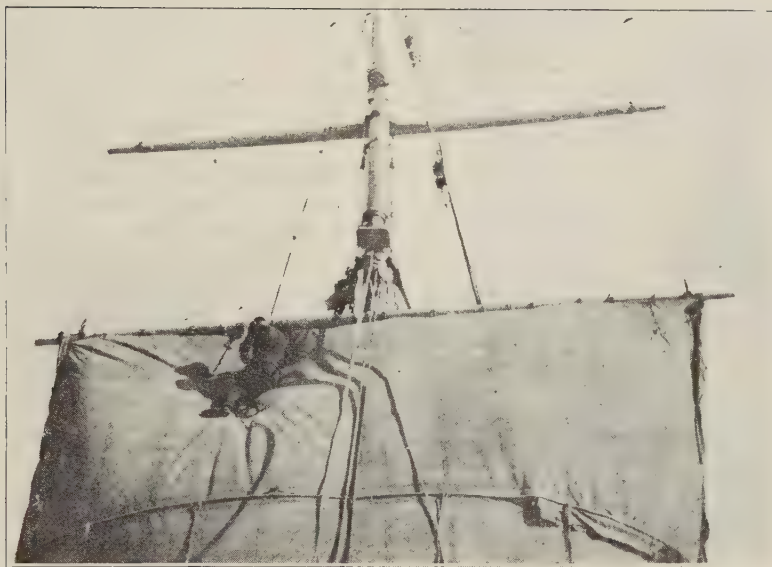
(7) Do not wave your arms, stamp your feet, or attempt to emphasize your words by making of gestures in so short a speech. Such action usually accompanies a shrieking voice and a wobbly mind. Those hands of yours—they are not needed in the least. Train yourself to stand straight always, with your head and shoulders back and your arms hanging quite inert at your sides.

Next month this whole matter of our bearing, gestures and breathing will be discussed for us by Professor Hawn. Once for all, do not make the error of presuming that the easy "natural" bearing of a good speaker is in reality natural. It is derived from careful training just as are all other elements of the education of mind and body. Study and practice will finally make of your body an efficient means of expression without self-consciousness on your part.

Do not spend time and money upon "elocution teachers." There are a very few teachers of public speaking in this country who really can teach. The average elocution teacher belongs in the category with patent medicine agents and umbrella menders.

NOTE: To the comrades who are able to spend some money in building up a library, we want to say that Gustavus Myers 3 volumes on History of the Great American Fortunes (\$1.50 each), and his History of the Supreme Court (\$2.00), are so full of facts relating to the great private fortunes in this country and the service the supreme court played in building up these fortunes, that these books will prove of irresistible value to the lecturer or speaker.

A Working Socialist Library.—I enclose money order for three dollars for the REVIEW to three names and books as marked on the enclosed list. Wish to state that I started a "Socialist Library" eighteen years ago, and have exactly three books on the shelves at present. Books kept on a shelf are worthless, therefore I continually keep lending them out to any and every one I can get to read (how hard to get wage slaves to read!) and the same will be true of those just ordered.—E. J. Beggs, Virginia.



MENDING A SAIL.

NEWS ABOUT THE ARMY AND NAVY

BY

EX SAILORS AND SOLDIERS

The REVIEW is in receipt of another letter from Recruiting Officer Danforth, denying all the charges made in the REVIEW by men in the navy and ex-marines. Mr. Danforth questions the records of these letter writers. Doubtless it is true that some of them were driven to desertion by the persecution of tyrannical officers. Others are proud of being *dishonorably* discharged (see the report from Davis, of Chicago, on another page of this article), and one and all wish to avoid the long arm of retaliation that those who have openly attacked the navy have felt.

Again the REVIEW wishes to state here that it is not advocating reforms in the navy. Armies and navies are maintained to protect the property of the capitalist class. They are composed of workmen required to fight for the owners of the

world's wealth. The REVIEW is doing all in its power to abolish a system of society wherein workmen toil to make idle millionaires of others.

Mr. Danforth writes, in part:

I am a petty officer in the hospital corps. I have never at any time seen or heard any remarks or actions justifying the articles printed in the November REVIEW. No one can deny that punishments are inflicted in the navy, but I maintain that they are always justified. A man who neglects his work will find himself in trouble very quickly. . . .

All ships are equipped with blowers, long tubes running to all parts of the ship, equipped with fans run by electricity. Cold air is sucked down and distributed to every part of the ship by these.

Every petty officer or enlisted man of the navy who is disabled in the line of duty may apply for aid to the pension authorities. The only thing not in line of duty is injury arising from venereal diseases. Do men expect the

U. S. to pay for their folly? Any sane person can see that the navy will do all that is possible for a man, even going so far in some cases, where a man is totally disabled, as to furnish a trained nurse for the rest of his life.

I never heard of any soldier getting the "water cure." If such things have been done, why don't the men appeal to Washington? They would certainly receive prompt redress.

I desire to call attention to another thing. It seems that these articles were written by men who have either served part of their enlistment and been discharged, or discharged for physical unfitness. But these men do not give their names. Some say they are applying for pensions. They despise the navy, but are perfectly willing to accept pensions from it.

Why does not the REVIEW publish letters from honorably discharged men? (The REVIEW has published quite as many letters from men with honorable discharges as from others. The letters from them do not differ at all from those received from men dishonorably discharged.)

I challenge any man whose articles will appear in the REVIEW, or whose articles have appeared, to let me procure from the Navy Department at Washington a synopsis of their records while in the navy (showing their offenses or marks while in the navy) and to let them be published in your magazine. We can then see how they behaved themselves and why. Also what punishment was given them, and why they were discharged.

R., a young man who served three years in the regular army, two years and five months in foreign service, writes from Tampa, Florida, "I have been on the job and I know what I am writing about. It is against the system that makes necessary the existence of an army that I protest at all times and at all places. I have lived to learn that I was not fighting for *my class* in the Philippines and have resolved that until it becomes necessary for my class to fight in its own interests, I will let the capitalists do their own fighting. I was honorably discharged Dec. 23rd, 1901, 'character excellent,' credited with participation in ten engagements and three battles; appointed corporal and later promoted to sergeant." R.'s letter was filled with many other interesting things, but the above is the most important of them all. Lack of space crowded out the rest.

Jac writes from Brooklyn: "In 1903, being *out of work* and having no place to go and honestly seeking a master, I joined the navy. I thought here was a

chance to get away from the starvation life ashore and have enough to eat and a few dollars every month. I was doled out an outfit supposed to be worth \$45, which was not worth \$15, and was then initiated by being forced to waiting on the table of men older in the service and to take the scoff of my fellow beings, as a roukie I must. I remember when a few of us laughed at a sergeant marine who stumbled down the companion ladder in a peculiar way. That laugh cost eighty-three of us (some of whom had not even smiled) five days on prison ship on bread and water, and little of that. Some time later we were all assigned to a sea-going ship. Imagine us trying to accustom ourselves to the new life and work, and all green hands. A former coal miner attempted to bring aboard a pint of whiskey for which offense he was given a general court martial and sentenced to three years in prison and a dishonorable discharge.

"We put to sea with the green crew, nearly all of us very sick but forced to work all the time anyway. Those who were too ill or who refused were placed in double irons and on bread and water at the first port. We never saw anything of "the world" except through the port holes. I was working in the fire-room, and it was the toughest kind of hard labor. We were ordered to the Caribbean station, patrolling the coast of Panama from Nicaragua to Venezuela. We put in at Colon for provisions; but as soon as we hove in sight of the flagship, were ordered out to sea again. Continually, for three weeks, we had black coffee, beans and hardtack, and no milk or sugar. A barrel of oatmeal was discovered—and served, filled with maggots. Remember what I have just written when you see that lying sign about *plenty to eat*. When we got back to Pensacola, one-third of the crew deserted. We were all driven to desperation."

Comrade Davis, of Chicago, came into our office and asked us to publish the fact that he had been "dishonorably discharged" from the United States navy and that he considered his discharge papers the greatest prize he possessed. He

said he was going to keep them framed for his children to cherish so that in the years to come they can boast of the fact that their father refused to become a legalized murderer in the interests of the capitalist class.

(This may give Officer Danforth something to chew over. Perhaps he will understand that dishonorable discharge may be a virtue when viewed from the angle of working class interests.)

This month we received an unsigned letter enclosing a REVIEW subscription. The writer said that he had deserted from the navy owing to the unbearable conditions he had encountered. He said that he is now a young man with a price on his head. He wanted the REVIEW sent to his parents, in the hope that when they read the Navy article they would realize that the deserted may be a man hounded to desperation instead of a coward, as they had supposed.

Again, we wish to call the attention of our readers to the fact that bad naval conditions are not the main point we wish to establish.

We wish, above all things, to get our readers aroused into studying the causes of war. We want them to realize what the army and navy are used for. We want them to understand that they are great institutions used by the men of great wealth to grab off more wealth, or to subjugate and keep down the workers who may try to better their working conditions.

The navy is maintained to protect *big property interests*, and to augment them,



AT SEA.

by war, if necessary; by bluff or a great show of strength, if possible.

The army is maintained for the same purposes, but it is used most often to shoot down strikers. Watch the events when there is a strike in your vicinity. You will see the millionaire owners importing thugs and hired murderers to cause trouble. Then you will see the troops sent, at the command of ye Rich Man, to shoot down a few strikers under the pretense of maintaining law and order.

America is not your country, working class friend, nor mine. It is the bosses country. Let him fight in his own interests, if fight he will. The only war that interests the Socialist is the great class war that will one day abolish wage slavery and let the workers come into their own.



SOCIALIST THEORY AND TACTICS

BY

CHARLES A. RICE

3. *Marxian economics* is an analysis of capitalist production and its ultimate tendencies. Its main thesis is briefly this. The capitalist system is economically the production of commodities for exchange. Labor power itself is a commodity bought for wages by the capitalist and yields additional value over and above that contained in the wages, that is surplus value. This surplus value is appropriated by the capitalist class and is distributed among its several sections as industrial and commercial profit, financial interest and ground rent.

A part of each one of these three items into which surplus value falls is consumed by the various sections of the capitalist class, another part pays some of the bills for maintaining the state and other tools of capitalism (including all sorts of parasitic classes and *retainers*: the church, the press, etc.). The rest is accumulated and used in further production on an ever larger scale. This process gives rise to greater and greater increase of wealth, to ever greater elimination of competition and small production, and to the consequent progressive concentration of industry with the bulk of the wealth in the possession of an ever smaller section of the people, the upper crust of the capitalist class.

This process of accumulation and concentration with its counter-effects on the proletariat Marx sums up in the following classical passage ("Historical Tendency of Accumulation," *Capital*, Vol. 1, pp. 836-7, Kerr's edition, 1906): "Hand in hand with this centralization, or this expropriation of many capitalists by few, develop, on an ever extending scale, the co-operative form of the labor-process, the conscious technical application of science, the methodical cultivation of the soil, the transformation of the instruments of labor into instruments of labor only usable in common, the economising of all means of production by their use as the means of production of combined, socialized labor, the entanglement of all peo-

ples in the net of the world-market, and this, the international character of the capitalist regime."

"Along with the constantly diminishing number of the magnates of capital, who usurp and monopolize all advantages of this process of transformation, grows the mass of misery, oppression, slavery, degradation, exploitation; but with this too grows the revolt of the working class, a class always increasing in numbers, and *disciplined, united, organized by the very mechanism of the process of capitalist production itself*. The monopoly of capital becomes a fetter upon the mode of production, which has sprung up and flourished along with, and under it. Centralization of the means of production and socialization of labor at last reach a point where they become incompatible with their capitalist integument. This integument is burst asunder. The knell of capitalist private property sounds. The expropriators are expropriated.

"The transformation of scattered private property arising from individual labor, into capitalist private property is, naturally, a process incomparably more protracted, violent, and difficult than the transformation of capitalist private property, already practically resting on socialized production, into socialized property. In the former case we had the expropriation of the mass of the people by a few usurpers; in the latter, we have the expropriation of a few usurpers by the mass of the people."

Note then in this admirable sketch Marx has *entirely left out the* pure-and-simplist conception of the role that parliamentary action is going to play in this overthrow of the capitalist system. If Marx had any inkling of it, he is certainly guilty of an unpardonable omission. See how carefully he has outlined all the essential parts in this mechanism of expropriation, the part of capitalism itself and the part of the proletariat "*disciplined, united, organized by the*

very mechanism of the process of capitalist production itself" (the italics are my own), but left out the parliamentary factor, which, according to our pure-and-simplers, is the most essential, as far as the proletariat is concerned, "the right arm," as one of the noted spokesmen of our own pure-and-simplers has phrased it recently in his debate with Haywood. Marx speaks of the "revolt of the *working class . . . united, organized by the very mechanism, by the very mechanism of the process of capitalist production itself*, while Kautsky (see "Grundsätze und Forderungen der Sozialdemokratie," 1904, p. 21): "The organization of the whole proletariat as a *class . . . is only possible through its political organization as an independent labor party* (the italics are Kautsky's).

Now, if Marx thought like Kautsky, if this *political* proviso enunciated by Kautsky was a logical consequence of Marx's analysis of capitalist production and its ultimatum, concentration and fall, he would have surely inserted it in the above sketch. The tactical credo proclaims pure-and-simple parliamentary action as the sole or even the principal lever for organizing the proletariat as a *class*, for forcing radical economic reform under capitalism, and for the final expropriation of the capitalist class, the overthrow of the whole system, the emancipation of the workers from wage slavery, and the inauguration and further development of the Socialist Commonwealth. We see now that this credo forms no part of, nor does it logically or inevitably flow from, the above three divisions of Marxism.

But what about the tactical pronouncement of Marx or Engels outside of their scientific works? Marx himself has nowhere even hinted at anything similar to the above credo. Engels (Socialism, from Utopia to Science, fourth German edition, 1891, p. 45), says: "The proletariat seizes the public powers (that is, the state, Translator), and by means of it transforms the means of social production slipping from the hands of the bourgeoisie into social property." He does not state, however, that this *seizing* is to be done through parliamentary action. But, in the preface to the Communist Manifesto, edition of 1872, both Marx and Engels state: "The Commune (that is, the Paris Com-

mune, Translator), has proved that the working class *cannot simply take possession of the state mechanism as it is* ("die fertige Staatsmaschine"), *and put it in motion for its own* (i. e., the proletariat's Translator) *purposes.*" (Italics are mine.)

Engels, moreover, was careful enough to point out that the state, once captured by the proletariat and having accomplished the first act of the social revolution, that is the expropriation of the capitalist class, would quietly take a back seat. His exact words are ("Development of Socialism from Utopia to Science," 4th German edition, 1891, p. 45): "In proportion as the anarchy of social production disappears, the *political authority of the state likewise dies off* ("schläft ein"; italics are mine), and on p. 40 (ibidem) we read: "The first act in which the state actually appears as the representative of society as a whole—the taking possession of the means of production in the name of society—is at once its last independent act as a state. The interference of any state power in social relations becomes superfluous in one domain after another and dies out ("schläft ein") of itself. The government of persons is replaced by the management of things and the conduct of processes of production. The state is not "abolished, it *dies off* ("stirbt ab"). While a presumably intellectual authority in our party and a fairly accurate exponent of the tactical credo professed by the pure-and-simple majority at the Indianapolis convention, gives in his outline of the functions of the *Socialist state* (in a footnote he adds that by this "*state*" he means the whole *political* organization of society. (Italics are mine), and among these functions are, "the maintenance of order, including the *juridical and police systems in all their branches* (italics are mine). We see, then, that this prophetic pronouncement, the quintessence or cream of pure-and-simplism beats anything that pure-and-simplers of western Europe with Kautsky at the head, have ever said on the subjects.

Moreover, Marx himself, in his correspondence with Freiligrath, the poet, emphatically disclaims any connection on his part with a political social-democratic party and adds: "I belong to the great party in a *historical sense*," meaning the Socialist movement in general (see Mehring's

article in the "Neue Zeit," vol. 29, dealing with the correspondence between Marx and Freiligrath).

Finally, the great principle enunciated by Marx and Engels as the basis of all proletarian Socialist tactics is: "The emancipation of the working class must be accomplished by the workers themselves." This alone speaks volumes against pure-and-simplism. The workers themselves can and should do it, no other class or any chunk of another can do it for them. The "workers themselves," though the majority of the people, *are not the majority of the voters*. The parliamentary end of the class struggle they cannot run *without the help of other classes*. As a *class*, and without any lift from any other source, they can and must tackle a good part of the emancipation job *themselves*. But of this in a future chapter.

Whatever else the above principle implies, it certainly does mean the dynamic power, the revolutionary initiative of the proletariat itself, principally at the point of production. It is absurd to read into this principle the illusion that parliamentary action is the *only* or even the principal weapon to fight with or the tool to forge the emancipation of the proletariat.

We see, then, that the pure-and-simplist parliamentary credo cannot be traced either to Marxism itself or to any definite tactical pronouncements on the part of Marx or Engels. Where, then, shall we look for its origin? The next chapter will deal with this question.

III.

The Genesis of Pure-and-Simplism.

OUR first glance at the credo of pure-and-simple parliamentary Socialism in its *present stage* has disclosed the singular fact that neither logically nor historically is it a corollary or outflow of Marxism, nor could it be traced to any important pronouncement of either Marx or Engels bearing on the fundamentals of Socialist tactics. But in order to get a clearer grasp of the full meaning of this credo and a larger view of its practical workings, we must go back to its beginnings in western Europe and especially in Germany; that is, we must go to its cradle and nursery; listen to its first feeble mew-

ings and cooings; watch the unsteady toddling gait during its babyhood until it grew to be what it is or as it came out of its last Indianapolis brooder.

Wherever the student is confronted with a complete organic growth, be it a plant, an animal, a stage in economic development, or a great social institution or movement, he has to adopt the mode of treatment known as the *genetic* method as the best way to approach the subject in question and the most apt to secure the best results. This method sends the investigator down to the *genesis* or beginnings of the phenomenon or organism we wish to study so as to trace there the essential conditions attending its embryonic stage and its birth and keep track of its gradual unfoldment and slow growth through infancy and childhood to its full maturity. What is true in biology and in all other departments of scientific research dealing with nature, man, or society, is also true in our present case.

Pure-and-simplism has not sprung into full shape at once. It is a social *growth* of a very complex nature, a complicated whole of ideas and facts, of theory and practice, that has gradually developed in the course of the last forty years as an outgrowth of a variety of economic and political conditions in the history of Continental Europe for that period. To understand its nature and its full possibilities, to make anything like a correct forecast of what the proletariat may expect from it, and to get at the true value of what it holds out to the workers in their world-wide historical mission, we must apply the genetic method or historical analysis. This method will also show that the minority in the American Socialist movement is historically inevitable and constitutes its advanced stage.

The nursery of parliamentary Socialism was neither in England nor in France. It is a singular fact that England, the classical home of modern capitalism, with the largest and best organized proletariat in all Europe, is just beginning to develop a Socialist political movement. Outside of the Chartist movement, that for 17 years (1838-1854) convulsed all England in a vain effort to secure manhood suffrage, the class struggle in this cradle

of capitalism was anything but political as far as the workers were concerned. Trade unions and the co-operative movement absorbed all the organizing and militant energies of the English wage-slaves. The 10-hour labor law (in 1847), and all the other labor and factory legislation were passed when the English workers had representation in parliament, long before the advent of the political cross-breed known as the Independent Labor party.

The French proletariat had a long and glorious revolutionary record. The French workers, and especially the proletarians of Paris, have done yeoman's work in the service of the different layers of the French bourgeoisie. The workers have many a time shed their own blood to put the middle class into power and were each time betrayed by that very middle class. In 1848 the Parisian wage-slaves rose in their own behalf, but were massacred by the ferocious bloodhounds of the "Party of Order" (June 13). The final and greatest revolutionary political effort of the Parisian proletariat in the Commune, was drowned in a sea of proletarian blood. This breakdown of the Communes had sapped the last militant political energy of the French proletariat. Exhausted and tamed, the French workers needed a long time to recover their class energy. It was only after a long stretch after the rise of the Third Republic that they began to stir at all even on the economic field, while the French Socialist parliamentary movement is of a still later date and was largely an echo from across the Rhine.

It is Germany that is the home and breeding place of pure-and-simple parliamentary Socialism, and the German Social Democracy was its wet-nurse who droned the soothing strain of the pure-and-simple lullaby to the German proletariat that began to toss in its age-long sleep. We must, therefore, take a peep at the beginnings of the Social Democratic movement in Germany, and take especial note of the economic and political conditions amid which this movement was born.

We are in the latter part of the 60's of the last century. The International Workingmen's Association, founded by Marx

and Engels, was on the eve of its dissolution, due in part to the internal strife between the Marxians and the followers of Bakunin. The Franco-Prussian war was looming near and began firing up patriotic fervor and jingoistic hot-air all over Germany, infecting bourgeois and proletarian alike. Soon the Commune fell, decimating the militant ranks of the French proletariat, quenching the last spark of its revolutionary energy. The whole working class in France lay prostrate and demoralized. The savage howl of the French bourgeoisie, drunk with proletarian blood and gone mad in its victorious frenzy, reverberated all over Europe in a deafening roar of reaction. It was felt by all the workers, especially east of the Rhine. It dampened and chilled any class aspirations they had cherished, cowed and stunned them into dumb submission.

Amid these conditions the workers on the European Continent were totally unorganized on the economic field and utterly powerless as a class. They lacked all the essentials, the civic and political facilities absolutely indispensable for any economic organization. They could not and dared not carry on any peaceful propaganda, not even for organizing conservative pure-and-simple trade unions. Without the rights of free speech, free assembly, and free travel, they could not attempt anything of the kind. True, a few workingmen's leagues sprang up in Germany before the Franco-Prussian war, but they were mere clubs, in which bourgeois liberals mingled with workers for discussing constitutional liberties and dreaming of a United Germany.

In this predicament it was no more than natural for the Marxians of the International Association abroad to lay great stress on the necessity of political organization on the part of the workers in order to wrest from the continental governments those constitutional rights which the workers of England had already, to some extent, secured. We must take a closer look at this point.

It had become clear by this time, and especially since the downfall of the Commune, that the tactics advocated formerly by Proudhon and later by Bakunin and his followers were sheer utopian rot, good

for the scrap heap of revolutionary by-gones. No dabbling in co-operative banking or production; no Socialistic schemes and peaceful makeshifts in the fields of production, credit, or consumption within the pale of capitalism and behind its back could free the workers from wage-slavery and reshape—fairy-like—the whole capitalist regime into communism.

On the other hand, conspiracies and revolutionary "subversive" manoeuvres hatched out at secret conclaves, and lili-putian uprisings organized by handfuls of "subversive" intellectuals hailing from disgruntled layers of the bourgeoisie and heading guerrilla bands drawn from the very thin ranks of advanced workers,—these were the tactical stock-in-trade of the Bakunians. These libertarians had no conception of the class struggle and of all it involves, nor had they any inkling of the laws governing social evolution or even suspected the forces which gave birth to private property, the state, the family, and all the other institutions and ideological products of social evolution serving as the bulwark and mirrored counterpart of modern capitalism. Their stock-in-trade and medicine-chest proved now entirely worthless. The collapse of the Commune had given them the finishing blow. It dawned upon the keen vision of Marx and his followers that the workers must be *organized as a class*, fully conscious of its permanent interests and its historic mission. But economic organization was impossible without a sufficient modicum of political and civic rights and political power in the state. Hence the conquest of parliamentary power became the next objective point and the demand for political organization of the workers for securing this power became the watchword of parliamentary Socialism and was crystallized in the famous slogan of "achieving the political dictatorship of the proletariat."

We must now turn to the other factors that helped shape this mere aspiration into the concrete bone and marrow of a strong political movement tending to pure-and-simple parliamentarianism.

Modern centralized capitalism was at this period almost unknown all over Europe and especially in Germany. Large

capitalist production was in its formative period, while the sway of modern centralized finance, the great power of centralized banking, could not even be dreamed of. There were no giant corporations, no trusts. Shipping and transportation were as yet in their infancy. Industrial capital was not as yet striving for foreign markets and colonial expansion. Production was carried on on a small scale and for the home market almost exclusively. When Comrade Bebel entered the Reichstag, the small shop was typical for all German industry. This pioneer of German parliamentary Socialism was himself a master turner in his own shop at Leipzig, where 2 or 3 "gesellen" (journeymen and apprentices) worked at the bench while Mrs. Bebel ran the plant as foreman, manager, cashier, shipping clerk, bookkeeper and all during the time her husband was stalwartly doing the rather complex job of representing the German proletarians—now at the Reichstag, now at the prison cell.

The German worker at this period had to pass through a long apprenticeship. He worked at his master's bench, boarded at his master's table, and did chores and ran errands for his master's wife. Then came his long traditional tramp through the country, his "Wanderjahre," during which he did odd jobs as journeyman, from which he graduated as "master," winding up his uphill climb as a full-fledged craftsman. Each craftsman cherished the hope of settling down in a little shop of his own with his wife lording it over his own apprenticed lads. Outside of mining, most of the larger industry was still in the manufacturing stage where the machine process was as yet unknown, and a great deal of the work was done outside of the factory as house industry scattered all over the breadth and length of rural Germany. This was notably the case in the textile industry.

Under these conditions of small industry, independent master-craftsmen in conjunction with the fact that the workers had no civic and political rights or liberties of any kind, economic organization on anything like a large scale was out of the question. The only labor organizations of any size known at this period in

Germany were those of the tobacco workers and the printers, and even these and a few others had more of the character of fraternal or mutual-benefit societies than of bona-fide labor organizations for economic defense and aggression.

All these scattered groups of workers banded together, whether for mutual benefit, for co-operative trading, or for educational purposes, were too weak to promise anything from the Socialist point of view, i. e., anything definite or substantial to the working class as a whole. No one could even suspect that these embryonic and floating aggregations of workers without any civic and political standing would in time develop economic power and social initiative as to become the decisive factor in social reconstruction, let alone the ultimate overthrow of capitalism.

Even forcing mere radical economic reform, such as an 8-hour workday, was thought far beyond their reach, whether in the present or the future. In the passage above quoted* from the chapter on "The Historical Tendencies of Accumulation," Marx gave a brilliant prognosis of the inevitable growth of the organization and consolidation of the proletariat in its class revolt against and hand in hand with the process of capitalist concentration and its tyranny. But even his colossal genius could hardly attempt anything beyond a mere shadowy sketch of this double process; from the look-out point in the process and stage of capitalism where Marx stood, even his piercing gaze could detect nothing definite in the

future or even as much as vaguely hint at the duration of the above process of double concentration. To make any forecast of the wonderful possibilities on the part of the workers for *economic class* organization, the gradual growth of their power at the point of production under the lash of more advanced stages of capitalism, and of the *concrete* manner in which this organization and power were to be brought about,—such divination was beyond the power even of a Marx.

If the giant mind of Marx could only very dimly make out the distant future, it is no wonder that a mind of far smaller caliber, like that of Ferdinand Lassale was stone-blind to see even the present. Though accepting Marx as his master, Lassale failed to see what labor organization, even in its raw form of trade unions, had accomplished in England and could accomplish with a more advanced type of organization under the spur of a more centralized capitalism. With his utter contempt for the trade unions and their possibilities in the future, he believed that all the workers had to do was to organize in a political party, wrest the franchise and through the ballot force the state to grant unlimited credit for financing associations of workers for production and thus transform capitalism into Socialism. He also believed in the iron law of wages, that is, that the price paid by the employers for the use of the labor power of the workers could not be forced up by them beyond the point of mere subsistence within the frame of capitalism and all organizing effort on their part for breaking this iron grip were futile.

(To be continued)

*See International Socialist Review for December.



The Acquittal of Ettor and Giovannitti

BY

PHILLIPS RUSSELL

ETTOR, Giovannitti and Caruso were freed of murder or being accessories to the murder of Anna Lo Pizzo for various reasons, according to one's point of view, of course.

The capitalist press hailed the verdict of not guilty as proof of the fairness of our courts, though of course it was nothing of the kind. We haven't forgotten Parsons, Spies and their comrades or Jack Whyte whose declaration, "To hell with your courts; I know what justice is!" has scarcely died out of our hearing.

Some may think the prosecution was defeated because of its pitiful lack of evidence, though all of us know that men have been sent to the gallows before on evidence no stronger.

Others may say the defense won because of the array of able lawyers employed and their skilful handling of the case. It is true the defending attorneys were able, but if the three men on trial had had no other support they might have gotten a manslaughter verdict, for the lack of team-work among the lawyers was noticeable and but two of them showed evidence of adequate preparation.

I was present at the trial and if asked why the men were acquitted I should give the same answer that Ettor gave—the solidarity of labor, with this addition: That the trial was conducted by the prosecution against the principles and methods of the Industrial Workers of the World. It was District Attorney Atwill who introduced St. John's pamphlet on the history, structure and methods of the Industrial Workers of the World and other documents showing the aims, purpose and ideals of the Industrial Workers of the World emphasizing the stronger features of the organization. While the lawyers for the defense, with the exception of Moore, had no experience in labor cases and no conception of

the class struggle. It was the defendants who helped to keep the atmosphere clear and the case from becoming a mere murder trial. In many instances they met Atwill on his selected ground. Even Caruso responded to the question, "Are you a member of the Industrial Workers of the World?"

"No, but I am going to join as soon as I get out of jail."

Another factor was the threat of the defense to introduce testimony showing a conspiracy on the part of the mill owners and their allies.

If the attorneys for the defense had been allowed to try the case as if it were an ordinary murder case, the result might have been different. Early in the proceedings the district attorney "done his damnest" to arouse prejudice against the prisoners by introducing testimony showing that there was some violence and considerable disorder at times on the part of the Lawrence strikers.

So there was. The wonder is that there wasn't more; and a member of the jury so expressed himself afterwards. At one time counsel for the defense seemed tempted to combat this line of testimony by trying to prove that the strikers, of which Ettor and Giovannitti were the supposed leaders, were a flock of peaceful lambs of the utmost meekness and mildness; which they weren't, and everybody knew they weren't.

But wiser tactics were adopted and when the district attorney in horror called attention to the occurrences on the first day of the strike—a few broken windows, some damaged machinery, scabs with torn clothing, etc., the defense admitted everything and did not deny. What of it? they said. Here were a wronged, desperate, maddened lot of people. It is true that in their anger they did misbehave, but what would you

expect? We admit all this; but now let's see you connect Ettor, Giovannitti and Caruso with it. And the commonwealth couldn't.

But Ettor and Giovannitti were right when they said they owed their liberty to the support given them by the working class; not only of America, but of Italy, of France, of Spain, of Germany, of Sweden and of England; for the workers of all these countries were heard from and in no uncertain tones.

The protest strike called by the workers of Lawrence made a tremendous impression on the capitalist class. I was in a big newspaper office the night the returns began to come in telling of protest strikes in Lawrence, in Lynn, in Haverhill, in Quincy, in Barre, in Penn-

sylvania and Ohio, and in Italy. The editors were appalled. "God!" they said. "Why, it will be chaos!"

American Woolen Co. stock began falling off the next day, and when out of a total of 250 veniremen only four consented to serve on the jury, respectable New Englanders looked at each other in wonder.

And then when the workers went back into the mills after that protest strike, I understand that they violated "Section 6" at a rate that made the managers moan in anguish and wish that Ettor, Giovannitti and Caruso had been left free to roam where they listed.

Great is the power of the workers when once they choose to exert it. It can't be beaten.

WHO KILLED CHICAGO DAILY WORLD?

BY

J. O. BENTALL

THE *Chicago Daily World*, formerly the *Chicago Daily Socialist*, was thrown into bankruptcy on December 5, 1912, and placed in the hands of a receiver.

Many who put money into the daily, and many who have worked hard for years to keep the paper going are asking for the cause of its failure.

A naked statement of fact is due the people who have sacrificed for the daily and due the party that has backed it.

Had there not been a volley of misrepresentation by the very parties who are responsible for the suspension, this statement would not be as greatly needed as it now is. But for a management to first wreck such an important party institution and then shift the blame on innocent persons must not go without reply.

I am not going to deal with the policy which the daily pursued during the last two or three years. Leave that to the judgment of the Socialist party and let

the party decide if it wants a repetition of that policy.

The management is the immediate concern of this article.

Before the newspaper lockout and strike in Chicago, the daily had struggled hard for a mere existence on account of comparatively small circulation and lack of capital. Difficulty in obtaining advertising had been experienced since the paper was started. It was no easy matter to make ends meet, but the comrades contributed from year to year enough to keep it afloat.

When the newspaper strike was called, however, a new condition arose. The other papers were entirely out of the field for several days and the *World* had the whole territory formerly occupied by the big metropolitan papers all to itself.

Of course, the equipment was inadequate for this temporary condition, but the little press was set in motion and was grinding out about 300,000 papers every twenty-four hours.

For over one month this little giant kept pouring forth this enormous edition.

During this time the business manager kept his head pretty cool, so that during May and June the manager reported a surplus of about \$10,000. But a cry came from the managing editor, E. Val Putman, recently a Hearst employe and a late candidate on Hearst's Independent ticket, that more editors were wanted, and more presses, and more everything.

Fancy salaries with lots of overtime and extras became the rule of the house. Fifty people were put on in the editorial department, fifty in the advertising department, over thirty in the business department, eight janitors and a like proportion in other departments; in all 275 people were on the payroll.

Add to this an enormous telegraph and photograph and electrotype expense. Add \$333 a month rent for a want ad room and \$250 a month for a basement press-room under the Post building, besides the regular quarters, making a total rent of over \$14,000 a year.

On the 21st day of July I made a full statement of these and other extravagances to the Cook County Delegate committee, warning them of impending ruin, pleading for retrenchment and a sane business policy. As a member of the board of directors at that time I protested against the practice of the fearful recklessness of the majority of the board, John C. Kennedy, Seymour Stedman, Mary O'Reilly, W. E. Rodriguez and J. P. Dolson. I showed the symptoms of utter abandon, such, for instance, as voting Editor Putman over \$130 for one month's downtown expenses for eating, drinking and sleeping in addition to his regular salary.

The delegate committee agreed with me and ordered retrenchment, but the majority of the board, made up of the above mentioned comrades, have always defied the party and acted against its instructions.

Two big presses were added and a stereotyping outfit secured amounting to over \$25,000. Carpenter work one month alone, covering some minor changes in the building was reported at over \$3,000.

Attorneys' fees to Mary Miller for

\$1,296, of which \$800 were paid, and Clara Christensen for \$950, of which \$500 were paid, show another leak which could have been avoided by calling all of the lawyers of the party together and asking them to undertake the work in question.

Finally, the management got into such close quarters that it had to borrow money or suspend. This was in the latter part of July.

A promoting concern was found which promised a loan of \$10,000. To secure this the attorney for the concern was given \$800. In addition thereto the board spread a resolution on its minutes giving the loan concern stock to the amount of \$102,000 as collateral security, thus putting by far the majority of stock into the hands of this loan concern. This was done in violation of the express instructions of the delegate committee that stock should not be disposed of in such quantities as to jeopardize the control of the society by Cook County. Information concerning this transaction was withheld from Cook County for three months.

Moreover, this resolution is in the minutes of a meeting held on the 18th day of July. I was present at this meeting and am recorded voting against the squandering of money and other reckless motions. The resolution giving away the stock of the daily was, however, not brought up while I was at the meeting, but was either passed after I had left, or added after the adjournment of the session. Not until I returned from the campaign down state, in November, did I discover this miserable piece of work.

The \$10,000 first borrowed from the loan people grew to \$15,000, then to \$18,000 and then into sums aggregating over \$130,000. Part of this was paid back from time to time and new loans made. From the time the first loan became due the loan people put their own men in charge.

Comrade Leissemer, who was at the head of the advertising department, was let out by one Harrison M. Parker, former business manager of the *Chicago Tribune* and a son-in-law of Stubbs, the Union Pacific railroad king.

Parker was no small man. His attorney represented him as the greatest news-

paper man in America and that while with the *Tribune*, Parker received the fancy salary of \$23,500 a year, and was now worth much more to the *Daily World*.

This Parker put one Price, of the *Tribune*, and one Searsey, of the Hearst papers, on the advertising payroll at \$35 a week each. These two gentlemen were getting \$80.00 a week at the *Tribune* and Hearst papers and were paid the difference by some parties not yet revealed to the Socialists of Chicago.

Having gotten control of Daily, these creditors now ran the whole outfit as they pleased. They came up to the delegate committee and asked even impolitely to be given the paper and the outfit in name as well as in fact, and that the party give its moral and financial support to them in their service of running a nice Socialist paper.

An agreement was reached to this effect between these good capitalists and the board, myself and comrade Dreifuss protesting.

Before the Delegate Committee, Stedman, Dolson, Kennedy and Mary O'Reilly argued that the only salvation of the daily was to transfer it to these nice capitalists, assuring the Socialist party that a perfectly good Socialist and trades union paper would be published by making a contract that Cook County could dictate the policy.

The Delegate committee turned down the proposition and declared that it was better that the paper die than to make it a power in the hands of the capitalists.

When the party refused to sell out, these capitalists began to pull off. They had already secured lien on the accounts to the amount of over \$85,000, which they still hold. The amount due them at present is about \$70,000, so they are well secured.

When the bond issue, amounting to over \$33,000, came due on December 1st, these capitalists wanted to put the bondholders off and exchange the old for new bonds. Most of the bonds were held by comrades, many of whom had given their hard earned savings to help the daily and were in need of their money.

On November 20th, only a few days be-

fore the crash, when it was well known to the management that the paper could not continue, a letter was written to the bondholders urging them to exchange their old bonds for new ones and also buy more new bonds. Here are some quotations from that letter:

"You are one of the original bondholders of the *Daily Socialist* which has achieved success as the *Chicago Daily World*. You came to our support when there was no security back of us. Now that we have security back of our bonds, it is fitting that we offer to you, before anybody else, our new 3-year 6 per cent first mortgage bonds."

"... The *Chicago Daily World* is a wonderful newspaper now."

"... A superb organization manages and our ideals have never changed."

"... We want you and every comrade who subscribed to our original bonds to take new bonds for twice the former amount."

"... Nearly \$100,000 in assets protects you."

"... You know us as comrades—know how honest our motives are. To you we're like a bridge that's carried you safely over."

"Almost any of your friends would be glad to invest in such a bond when they realize that our obligations can be paid."

"Let us hear from you today, comrade. You have been our friend in need, now be friendly in prosperity."

"The blessings of all humanity reward helpers of our cause."

This is the stuff that the management and the \$23,000-a-year *Tribune* man tried to bluff the comrades with. Only after I told the management that every man having anything to do with sending out this letter could be put behind the bars for obtaining money under false pretenses did they return such monies as came in response to the above letter.

The bonds fell due on December 1 and the trustee, Comrade Marcus Hitch, compelled under the law to take possession or himself become personally liable. He endeavored to get a friendly receiver, a Socialist, appointed so that the assets might not be squandered. Stedman, of

the board, opposed this and the next day some creditors threw the concern into the bankruptcy court and this court appointed the Central Trust Company of Illinois as receiver. What will be left after this company is paid for its services can easily be imagined.

The bondholders, who are almost entirely Socialists, are now trying to save the equipment as far as possible and put it into the hands of the Socialist party.

If the plant were to be sold and the type and machinery removed, it would probably not bring a total of \$10,000.

As it stands, however, without being disturbed, it could not be duplicated for \$50,000. It is this asset that the bondholders hope to save for the Socialist party, thereby avoiding a total loss both for themselves and for the party.

At its last meeting, the Cook County Delegate committee decided to co-operate with the bondholders, first to establish a weekly paper, and later when sufficient funds have been collected and when occasion demands publish a daily Socialist paper, thoroughly representing the Socialist party and not to be a cheap imitation of capitalist sheets.

In spite of this decision by the Socialist party and instructions to its representatives accordingly Stedman, supported by Mary O'Reilly, Rodriguez, Kennedy, and others, opposed the action of the Socialist party and made a counter proposition at a mass meeting called by themselves as members of the board of directors, held on Sunday, December 8th, to gather funds and organize a stock company outside of the control of the Socialist party and thus repeat the tragic performance of the past six years.

Had a sane business and editorial policy been adhered to during the strike, the *Daily World* could have paid off at least \$50,000 of its debts and been on a sound economic basis. It could have established itself as a real Socialist paper thoroughly supported by all the workers and keenly respected by all opponents to Socialism.

Many Socialists think that the management is responsible for the financial disaster and is guilty of having thrown

odium upon the Socialist party by publishing a paper that neither the unions nor the capitalist class respected.

They think that for these same individuals to come at this time and ask comrades and the workers in general to raise \$150,000 for another paper like the lamented *World* is only another evidence of the utter lack of good judgment on the part of these people.

Many of the comrades feel that it was by using the daily which was entrusted into their hands that they were able to advertise themselves and perpetuate themselves as members of the board.

The party has stood firm at all times for a clear policy and for good management and is not to blame for the failure of the daily. If it is to blame at all it is because it has been too lenient with elected officials who were allowed to continue in office even when they defied the instructions of the party.

The rank and file of the Socialists in Cook county are loyal and true to the principles of Socialism. The comrades in Chicago will yet build up a Socialist press worthy of the revolutionary movement of the working class. By a sane and conscientious use of the money of the workers a mighty instrument for the toiling masses will yet be secured and used in the struggle for emancipation.

Sibble's Wager. Comrade Harry Sibble, the holder of the Socialist literature sales record in Canada, writes the *REVIEW*, "I will put up a set of Marx' 'Capital,' or value in other Socialist books, against a like offer from any comrade who thinks he can sell more *REVIEWS* than I can in the next year. This offer applies not to any local, but to any individual agent. Any one wishing to accept my challenge will put up the price for books with the *REVIEW* publishers and I will do likewise." We hope some of our crack hustlers on this side will enter the race, but we may as well warn them that they will have to "go some" to beat Comrade Sibble. He sold 4,150 *REVIEWS* in ten months.

EDITORIAL

Now Is the Time to Unite.—Every Socialist should read the inspiring call to arms by Charles Edward Russell in this issue of the REVIEW. What he says we wish to endorse most heartily and emphatically. Up to this time there has been an unavoidable line of cleavage in the party. On the right stood those who believed in political reform to be carried out through Socialist legislators, and who were over-anxious to win the favor of the leaders of the reactionary craft unions. On the left wing stood those who clung loyally to the principles of the Communist Manifesto, and who were beginning to realize the vital importance of the industrial union movement. A year ago, heated debates between these two wings of our party were necessary and inevitable. But within a year two great things have happened. On the political field, the Progressive party has taken the ground from under the feet of the Socialist reformers. For the Progressives, with four and a half million votes to start with, are not merely proposing most of the reforms to which our comrades of the extreme right had pinned their faith; they are likely to enact them into law in the near future. And meanwhile the Socialist vote did not diminish but doubled. Some of our half-baked reformers have gone to Roosevelt with whom they belong. Their places have been taken by a host of new comrades who will be satisfied with nothing less than revolution.

On the industrial field a still greater thing has happened. A year ago it was possible to becloud the issue by accusing industrial unionists of plotting deeds of violence, and lauding the craft unionists of the Gompers school as wise and prudent leaders who were taking care of the immediate interests of wage-workers by conciliating the capitalists. But during 1912, the Industrial Workers of the World won at Lawrence, a victory which has put terror into the hearts of the capitalists and has inspired the workers with courage and confidence for the greater battles of the near future. And this victory was won by a courageous

self-restraint that prevented all violence when violence was the one thing most desired by the capitalists and their jackals. And what were the conservative craft unionists doing meanwhile? At Lawrence their "leader," John Golden, was doing his little to help the capitalists defeat the workers. In Los Angeles they were using dynamite to destroy some capitalist property and incidentally the lives of a number of toilers. Mr. Gompers has "explained" this action, and it may interest our readers to know how his explanation and his general attitude impress the more intelligent capitalist editors. We will quote from the *Nation*, the weekly edition of the New York *Evening Post*, a paper which never "plays to the galleries," for the reason that it is read only in the box seats and the orchestra circle. Its opinions are, therefore, a pretty fair index of what the more intelligent capitalists really think. It said (editorial page Nov. 21).

"The prestige of Samuel Gompers is today badly shattered. To public opinion outside of organized labor he stands out as the head of a "conservative" labor movement which is now foully smeared with anarchy. To the members of organized labor he stands out as a leader who has allowed the odium of anarchy to be saddled upon them without the compensating prestige that comes from assuming a frankly revolutionary attitude. To throw bombs for the purpose of overthrowing the "capitalist" system is a comprehensible mode of procedure. But to pursue the conciliation of labor and capital by planting dynamite, is mad futility. With the stigma of McNamaraism upon it, the American Federation of Labor under Gompers is an object of fear to the conservative citizen, and an object of derision to real revolutionists like the Socialists and the Industrial Workers of the World."

Very significant was the vote taken at the national convention of the A. F. of L., when a third of the delegates, all themselves craft unionists, voted for industrial unionism. We are glad to note

that many Socialists who have been classed with the right wing of our party helped swell this vote. The meaning of all this is that the Machine Process has swept and is sweeping us on, away from the sterile controversy which absorbed too much of our energy during 1912. Some things are settled, some dangers are passed, new and greater battles are impending. The formidable showing of the Progressive party and the humiliation of the A. F. of L. have punctured the specter of a Labor party. There is full measure of glory and spoils in the Bull Moose camp for any of our politicians who care more for votes and offices than for revolution. And for the rest of us new battle fields are opening up where every ounce of energy will be needed, and needed soon. The conservative craft unions will soon be a thing of the past, or else will transform themselves into industrial unions touched with the new spirit of hopeful revolt that sees near at hand the day of victory and of happiness for the workers. The Masters of the Bread see these signs of revolt and tremble; it is for us to rejoice, to forget the petty disputes over dead issues, to close up the ranks and march.

Frenzied Finance in the Socialist Party.—Elsewhere in this issue of the REVIEW Comrade Bentall, Secretary of the Socialist Party of Illinois, tells the humiliating truth about the collapse of the Chicago *Daily World*. In this paragraph we desire to supplement his article with a few additional facts and to draw certain obvious conclusions. The Chicago *Daily Socialist*, as it was originally called, had its beginning in a temporary project for issuing a daily for two weeks preceding the November election of 1906. The new daily was greeted with such outbursts of enthusiasm from the comrades of Chicago and the whole northwest that plans were hastily matured for continuing it permanently. Immense sums of money poured in as loans and stock subscriptions, and right there the paper entered on its career of frenzied finance which has just closed in the manner described by Comrade Bentall. Instead of using the

capital for a reserve to provide for dull seasons, the directors and managers of the daily proceeded immediately to squander the entire amount on fancy salaries, high rents and similar extravagances. Again and again and again frantic appeals were made for financial help to "save the *Daily*," and again and again the trusting comrades "dug up." Worst of all, many invested their scanty savings in the bonds and notes of the "Workers' Publishing Society," in the vain hope of some time getting the money back. For years the *Daily* has paralyzed the Socialist party of Chicago. Its chronic deficits have exhausted the resources and dampened the ardor of the most willing workers. Its editors, with a few honorable exceptions, have cringed before the officials of the reactionary craft unions, and edited the news columns of the paper in a way to suit these officials. Hundreds of thousands of dollars of working people's money have been sunk in turning out a cheap imitation of a capitalist daily, with nothing in it to fire the spirit of a rebellious wage-slave. In 1912 came the one chance of a life-time to retrieve past mistakes and build up a great working-class newspaper. Now this chance has been thrown away, and our only legacy from the deceased daily is a valuable store of experience. Let us treasure this and when the time comes use it.

We have a new offer for the smaller Socialist Locals, and for comrades who are trying with small resources to scatter the best Socialist literature. For FIVE DOLLARS we will send five copies of the REVIEW to one address every month for one year, and will also send by express prepaid any of our books to the amount of \$5.00 at retail prices. The Reviews will sell for ten cents each, making \$6.00, or a total of \$11.00 for the Reviews and books. In selecting books be sure and include several copies of our new 10c book by Dr. Anton Pannekoek **MARXISM AND DARWINISM**. It gives just the information every Socialist wants, condensed into 58 pages. Full description next month.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

BY WILLIAM E. BOHN

The International Protest Against War. During the past month one thought has united the mind of the working class of all Europe. While the terrible carnage in Turkey has gone its course, while diplomats have been watching for a chance to steal an advantage, while military authorities have been getting their forces in readiness for a conflict of great powers,—the working class has been saying in a dozen different languages but with the same sense of responsibility and power that this conflict shall not take place. In resolutions, in mass meetings, in street demonstrations, in conventions, and finally in the special congress of international congress of the Socialist movement, the conviction and purpose of the workers has found such expression that it could not go unheeded.

On November 17, in compliance with the suggestion of the International Bureau, Socialist mass meetings were held in all the important centers of population. Berlin, Paris, London, Rome, Brussels—every great city in Europe presented the same sight on that day. In Paris alone at least 100,000 people gathered to voice their protest against being dragged into a fratricidal international butchery. The number of manifestants must have gone well into the millions. In point of mass alone this was the most impressive demonstration of the sort the world has ever seen. At all of the more important points addresses were delivered by representatives of the various nations most interested in the matter at stake. The greetings given the Englishmen in Germany and the Germans in England afforded immediate demonstration of the unity of interest existing between the peoples whom the diplomats attempt to represent as enemies.

The meeting of the International Congress was given added significance by the fact that it was preceded by three national Socialist congresses. The German Social-Democratic Party of Austria and the Socialist Party of Switzerland happened to hold their regular conventions

at just the right time to express the sense of these national movements; and in France a special congress was called for the purpose.

Besides international affairs the Austrian gathering had many important matters to consider. The party constitution was revised, the government's attempts to hamper the labor union movement was discussed and the relations with the organizations of the Austrian Czechs were taken up. With regard to the latter subject the congress was able to announce a vast improvement. It will be remembered that the International Congress of Copenhagen, a separate party organization of the Czechs, applied for admission and had its application denied. At present there are two Czechish party organizations, one, the smaller, is united with the German party in a national federation. The other, called "Separatist," is still working alone. But there is good prospect of its coming into the national federation and so re-establishing its relation with the international movement.

But, without being on the program, the international situation held the center of the stage at the congress. Austria is the great power most nearly concerned in the Balkan difficulty. For a considerable time during the last month the world has been momentarily expecting that the Austrian ministry would declare war because a certain consul to a Servian town had disappeared. It was evident at that time that the slightest pretext would be used to seize Albania. So our Austrian comrades faced a real condition. What they did was a credit to their common sense. They declared that the people of the country were absolutely uninterested in the prospect of a foreign conflict and outlined a plan of campaign for the crystallization of public opinion. The moment the congress adjourned a great peace campaign was started. Subsequent developments show that this move has not been without results.

In France the national Socialist congress had the conventional debate about

the general strike. It was evident from the start that the delegates were in favor of using all means available against a threatened war. The resolution adopted, however, was so worded that the French representatives at Basel would not feel bound to insist on any particular sort of tactics at the expense of introducing discord into the international assembly.

The Special International Congress met on November 24th. The chairman was Comrade Herman Greulich, only surviving member of the congress of the old International which met at Basel in 1869. In his opening address he mentioned the fact that on that occasion the *London Times*, referred to the International as "a great soul with a small body," and went on to say that in our day its body is gigantic and its soul is no smaller.

A committee of the International bureau had a carefully prepared resolution to submit. It repeated the antimilitary resolutions of the congresses of Stuttgart and Copenhagen and made a rapid analysis of the present situation. It then took up the countries involved, one by one, and outlined the duties resting upon the working class in each. The Socialists of the Balkan peninsula were praised for their sturdy opposition to the present war and had pointed out to them that peace for the Balkan region can be found only in a confederation of the small states for mutual protection and commercial interchange. Upon the workers of Austria-Hungary, the resolution declared, rests the chief responsibility for the warding off of the immediate danger of war. If a conflict of great powers is precipitated, it will be Austria that will make the first move. A recent protest strike in Russia against the attitude of the Czar's government was hailed as a fine exhibition of working-class power. The Socialist parties of France, Germany, and England were called upon to oppose to the utmost the attempts of capitalists, diplomats, and military powers to excite the public mind to the point of precipitating a war. If France and England refuse to back Russia, and Germany fails to come to the aid of Russia, it was declared, a great international conflict is

practically impossible. To convince the governments of these countries that the people will not endure being blindly steered into a war in which they have no possible interest is the duty of the Socialist movement. The International Bureau was warned that during this crucial time it must exercise special care to keep the working-class organizations of Europe well informed of developments in the various countries and, in particular, of all steps taken by the various Socialist groups.

The final paragraph read as follows: "So this congress turns to you, proletarians and Socialists of all lands, and depends upon you to make your voices heard in this crucial hour. Express your determination in all forms, in all places, make your protest in parliaments, unite in great mass demonstrations, utilize all means which are afforded you by your organization and by the power of the proletariat. See to it that the governments have constantly before their eyes the sleepless and energetic will of the people. Thus place over against the capitalist world of exploitation and wholesale murder the proletarian world of freedom and brotherhood."

This resolution received unanimous support. Jaures and Vaillant spoke for France, Adler for Austria, Haase for Germany, Soukop for the Czechs, Troelstra for all the small nations of central and northern Europe, Sakasoff for Bulgaria, Agnini for Italy, and Clara Zetkin for the women of the world. The veteran Bebel spoke a few words in conclusion, and with the cry "War on war" the congress was declared adjourned.

Russia. Election of the Fourth Duma. The Russian election has created little excitement. To be sure, the result was a foregone conclusion. Nothing but a reactionary majority could be returned by the electoral machinery perfected in the famous coup de d'état of 1907. But the course of the election as a whole—there was no campaign worthy of the name—is a matter of deep interest to the working class and to all those who are concerned in the spread of democratic institutions. Though the Fourth Duma will be the most reactionary Russia has yet

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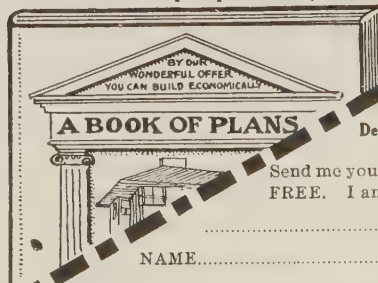
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had, the popular vote showed a tremendous increase in the following of the Social Democracy. This fact is due, apparently, both to an increase in the number of Socialists and to a turning away from the abstentionist policy of the so-called Revolutionary Socialist group.

In the third Duma the Socialists had a group of 13; according to early reports of the recent election this number has been cut down to 12. The party of the extreme right, on the contrary, is reported to have gained 112 seats. The Octobrists, who make a rather feeble stand for constitutional government, lost 56 seats. The general division of forces is reported to be as follows: Right, 163; Center, 144; Left, 125. In the last Duma the Socialists were the only ones who dared make any consistent opposition to the government; it is easy, therefore, to foresee what kind of history will be made by the new Duma.

To show how little is signified by these figures it is only necessary to go back of them for a moment. It will be remembered that the first two Dumas, which were chosen immediately after the revolutionary movement of 1905, refused to do the bidding of the government. Both contained large groups of Socialists and constitutionalists. Both were dismissed after short sessions, the Czar expressing his sorrow at the fact that he found it impossible to do useful, constructive labor with their help. Then came the election law of 1907. This measure is guaranteed to return a majority for the government under all circumstances. According to its provisions the voters are divided into "curies," or groups. The wage-earners, the farmers, the large landowners, the large capitalists of the cities, the small capitalists of the cities, etc., form separate groups. Each group chooses electors to a sort of electoral college which, in turn, makes choice of the Duma members. In this electoral body the reactionists have, of course, a reliable majority. But there is one provision which makes it impossible for it to make up a slate entirely to its liking. The representatives of any group in the Duma must be chosen from among the electors sent to the electoral college by the voters of that group. Since the six

electors from the wage-earning group are sure to be Socialists, there is no escape from the choice of at least half-a-dozen real representatives of the working-class. But beyond this small number Socialism has little to expect. It may be able to return a few members from the small capitalist group, or from certain cities which, by special dispensation, have a direct election. But this is all.

In addition to difficulties inherent in the electoral machinery, our Russian comrades have had to fight the most illegal and violent opposition imaginable. Their papers have been suppressed and their organizations broken up. Whenever one of their candidates declared himself, he was forthwith placed under arrest or hounded out of the district in which his residence was established.

But in spite of all this, the Socialist vote increased tremendously. It is, naturally, impossible to obtain reliable reports of the popular vote, but it is evident from figures which have reached this side of the water that in the larger cities the vote for Socialist candidates more than doubled. In Petersburg the percentage increased from 9.4 to 19.5; in Moscow, from 9 to 29.

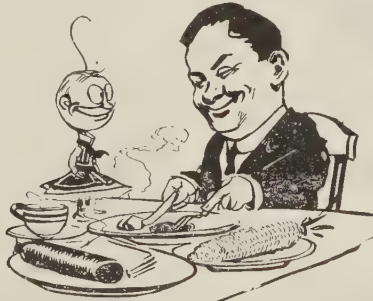
The cause of the working-class and of constitutional government has, then, won a victory in Russia. What is a merely popular victory now, will be transformed into a parliamentary victory as soon as the people are sufficiently organized to renew the fight for representative government. If men are more important than parliamentary majorities, the people are triumphing in bloody Russia.

This means that the noble work done by the tiny group of Socialists in the third Duma has borne fruit. For five years now these thirteen men have been the only open and effective nucleus of the Socialist movement. Protected by parliamentary immunity, they have criticized the government, introduced measures, and in general voiced the feelings of their constituents. In particular they have fought hard against the tyrannous annexation of Finland and the nullification of the right of the workers to organize in labor unions. Of course every measure they have opposed has been

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passed despite their opposition. Often enough they have been threatened with imprisonment or personal violence. But they have kept manfully at their work. Their speeches, the only propaganda matter which the government dared not suppress, have been spread throughout the

land and have served to keep Socialism before the people. The result of these conditions is seen in the fact that during the recent elections there has been a decrease in the number of those who responded to the "Revolutionary" appeal to boycott the ballot.

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NEWS AND VIEWS

Latest Election Returns

Alabama	3,019
Arizona	3,144
Arkansas	8,153
California	80,000
Colorado	16,418
Connecticut	10,056
Delaware	556
Florida	4,406
Georgia	1,014
Idaho	11,960
Illinois	81,278
Indiana	36,931
Iowa	16,967
Kansas	26,807
Kentucky	11,647
Louisiana	5,211
Maine	2,541
Maryland	3,971
Massachusetts	12,616
Michigan	23,211
Minnesota	27,505
Mississippi	2,061
Missouri	28,148
Montana	10,585
Nebraska	10,219
Nevada	4,000
New Hampshire	1,980
New Jersey	15,901
New Mexico	2,859
New York	60,000
North Carolina	800
North Dakota	7,000
Ohio	89,930
Oklahoma	42,262
Oregon	13,222
Pennsylvania	80,689
Rhode Island	2,049
South Carolina	164
South Dakota	3,500
Tennessee	3,492
Texas	24,896
Utah	9,023
Vermont	928
Virginia	820
Washington	40,134
West Virginia	15,000
Wisconsin	34,120
Wyoming	2,713

894,206

These figures are official for many states. However the vote of several states is semi-official. In the state of Washington the vote of two small counties is missing.

California. Comrade Thompson of Eureka reports 781 Socialist votes in that county out of a total of 8,166. Other candidates made a fair showing. They already have a councilman in Eureka and expect to elect the mayor next time.

Comrade Lester Small claims 39 votes against 4 four years ago, for Debs in Sonoma.

Comrade M. M. Thorne of Uno, writes that the Socialists increased their vote 2,500 per

cent in their home precinct. Comrade D. W. Thorne, candidate for the assembly of the 16th district, put up a whirlwind campaign, doing great work.

J. Dahlstrom of Contra Costa county, running the second time for the assembly, received 1,241 votes against 609 last time. The Debs' vote was 1,297, nearly three times the 1908 vote. The women cast about one-third the vote. They are going to be a big help in the future Socialist movement.

Comrade Kelly of Chilcoot reports 148 votes for Debs in Lassen county.

Comrade Cothran reports the Socialist vote for San Diego county, 2,873 as against 1,342 in 1908.

Comrade Goodhue reports a gain in Plumas county from 61 votes in 1910 to 233 this year. It was only a few years ago when there was only one lone Socialist in this district.

Comrade Danner writes that the Socialist increase in his district is about 300 per cent.

Idaho. Comrade Herrington of Cataldo reports 45 straight votes in his precinct. This is a mighty encouraging bunch of trail blazers.

Laclede elected a justice of the peace and constable; 34 straight Socialist votes out of 130, according to Comrade Frank Drast. Bad weather prevented the timber boys from getting out. Better luck next time.

Recording Secretary Johnson writes: "We had two lone Socialists in Colburn two years ago and 19 straight votes this year." Isn't it great? Find one Socialist in a city one year and in two years you will find six. Who says we are not optimists?

Illinois. From Davis comes word through Comrade Vore that the single Socialist vote in 1908 has grown to sixteen. Congratulations to the propagandist. Hope the sixteen prove as active as he was.

The Springfield vote grew from 250 in 1908 to 458 in 1912; county total of 1,007 according to word received from Comrade Secretary Campbell.

Secretary Morgan reports 76 Socialist votes in White Hall as against 7 in 1908 and 38 in 1908. See what the 38 will do before next election.

Secretary Liimatainen reports 140 in Delkalb.

Indiana. Comrade Kennedy of Shelbyville reports 97 Socialist votes in 1908 in Shelby county, 196 in 1910 and 319 this year. This is as good a showing as we have seen.

Comrade Frey writes from Wanatah, "Our vote jumped from 5 in 1908 to 35 votes this year in Cass township.

Iowa. Secretary Morton reports 161 Socialist votes in Oelwein and 188 in the county against 37 four years ago. The local secured 19 new members at its last meeting. Now is the time to educate our new members.

Kansas. Fred Stanton of Mulberry was

ected to the State Senate and Everett Miller, a miner of Cherokee, to the Legislature. A large number of township officers were elected. Good for Kansas!

Secretary Snyder of Columbus, giving the official report of Cherokee county, says, "Debs polled 2,006 votes and Brewer, running for U. S. Congress, polled 2,182 votes." The Socialists also elected eleven county officials, polling more votes than the Democrats and Republicans combined. Good for Kansas! This is great work! No old party alliance has any chance there.

Secretary Sease reports 20 out of 48 votes for Debs in Horace, a 140 per cent increase. Going up!

Secretary Barnett reports that Fort Scott more than doubled their Socialist vote, and that Bourbon county jumped from 388 in 1910 to 706 votes in 1912.

Louisiana. J. H. Helton, one of the boys of the Brotherhood of Timber Workers, who were acquitted last month, in the Grabow riot, got out in time to be home to vote for Debs. He writes: "DeRidder increased her Socialist vote from 4 in 1908 to 103 in 1912." Comrade Helton thinks the Socialists will carry the Parish at the election in December owing to the strike.

Massachusetts. Many wards in Lawrence, the scene of the textile workers' strike, cast a solid vote for Socialism. The general increase in vote over 1908 was over 35 per cent, and this in spite of the fact that 80 per cent of the workers there have no vote.

Michigan. Local Bay City reports that there were 447 votes cast for Socialist president and 516 votes in Bay county.

Minnesota. Comrade Taltinen of Cloquet writes that 425 Socialist votes were polled in Carlton county.

Montana. Philipsburg polled 90 Debs votes. This is the first year the Socialist Party has been in the field in that neck of the woods, according to Dominick Virondá. That's a good healthy beginning.

The Finnish Local at Red Lodge reports 397 votes in Carbon county for Mayor Duncan as governor and 394 for the Progressive candidate.

Comrade Odegard reports 434 votes for Debs in his county, or nearly 13 per cent of the total vote and 42 per cent of the total vote at Rollins.

Nevada. The Socialist Party of Tonopah increased its vote from 159 in 1908 to 503 in 1912, a plurality of 10 over the Democrats, 274 over the Republicans and 271 over the Progressives. M. Scanlon, Socialist candidate for State Senate was elected by 666 votes—218 over his closest competitor. W. Morgan, the other state senator candidate, received a plurality of 18. Davis was elected assemblyman and Dunseath, justice of the peace. Several other Socialists were elected to the county offices. Tonopah is a mining camp of 5,000, so these are very evidently real working class victories.

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ELECTION DAY AT TONOPAH, NEVADA, SOCIALISTS ON THE JOB.

The Socialist party local has divided the city into districts for the distribution of literature. Thus they assure packed houses to every Socialist speaker. They made no attempt to catch middle class reformers, but appealed directly to the workers and 80 per cent of the registered workers voted for Socialism. Congratulations and then some to the Tonopah comrades.

Comrade Hempel and the prospectors in Copperhill are still on the job. They are few in number but more than half Reds.

New Jersey. Comrade Warner of Glasboro reports 205 Socialist votes in Gloucester county according to official returns.

New Mexico. O. W. Skorkowsky, Socialist committeeman, of Portales, reports 200 Socialist votes in Roosevelt county and says, "We have a hard row to hoe down here, but we mean to fight to the finish. We have a local that is doing work and we are making new Socialists fast."

New York. Comrade Millard, of Gouverneur, writes that they had 41 Socialist votes this year; there were none in 1908.

Ohio. Butler county gave 3,421 votes for Socialism this year, more than Taft or Roosevelt got. Ruthenberg polled 3,475 votes. Capitalist papers concede Socialist Party candidates ran second on all county offices.—Report from Secretary Shafor.

H. M. Byer, of Byesville, reports 82 Socialist votes in precinct C of Jackson township, out of 181.

Oregon. Secretary Dorfman, of Portland, reports official figures for Oregon, 14,874 Socialist votes in 1912; 7,339 votes in 1908.

Comrade Steiner of Port Orford, reports the election of their county coroner, also the Socialists lacked only 170 votes of electing their candidate for State Legislature.

Comrade Dorfman reports 14,112 Socialist votes in Portland as against 7,339 in 1909. Good work for Portland!

Pennsylvania. Secretary Mayo of Rochester, writes that the vote in his county was 1,738, a 256 per cent gain over 1908. Every one of the 15 branches in that county expect to have Study Classes organized before the first of the year. Comrade Mayo says they realize that it is education that counts. His letter carried a bundle order for "Shop Talks," the best book for a beginner studying Marx.

Comrade Dresch reports the Socialist vote of Grove City, 51 in 1908 and 183 in 1912. Mercer county, 1,708 against 607 in 1908.

Comrade Platt, of Sharon, in sending the official returns of Pennsylvania, gives 80,915 as against 33,914 in 1908. We do not believe any state will equal the Pennsylvania report, which is almost a 200 per cent gain.

L. W. Woods writes that Debs polled 1,464 votes in Erie, the county giving us 1,973 votes. The county vote for 1908 was 1,037. Congratulations to Erie.

Comrade Lindner writes, "Debs polled 663 votes in Beaver county in 1908 and made a gain of 1,805 votes this year. We fell behind the vote last year on account of Big Tooth. What we want is a class-conscious vote that we can count on."

County Secretary Gumbert claims 313 votes for Socialism in Bradford county against 190 votes in 1908.

South Dakota. Secretary Dinzy, of Sioux Falls, sends in the official vote for his state as follows: For Debs, 4,267; for governor and lieutenant governor respectively, 3,578 and 3,698. Comrades running for Congress also polled a surprisingly large vote.

Comrade Atwood, of Sisseton, reports 53 Socialist votes in Sisseton, as against 30 in 1908.

Texas. Comrade James claims 27 sound Socialist votes in Donna, being more than Taft and Teddy can muster.



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- | | | | |
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| 4. Dr. Ray. | 11. Justice. | 18. Rieman. | 24. H. Joseph. |
| 5. Weideman. | 12. Sanchez. | 19. Levine. | 25. Mrs. Neifend. |
| 6. Neifend. | 13. Lung. | 20. Ballhans. | 26. Mrs. Rieman. |
| 7. Fisher. | 14. Mrs. Betts. | | |

St. Louis Industrial Socialists.—Comradé W. H. Betts, Branch No. 1, sends the following interesting information: "We, of branch 1, accept as members only, those who earn their living by actual labor, as we doubt that one who is not up against the actual grind can be class conscious. As all branches have complete autonomy, they are at liberty to accept as members any one they wish, but no professional man can be accepted as delegate to the City Central Committee. We have ten branches represented at the Central Committee.

We "reds" are going to make a Socialist movement in St. Louis that will relegate the reform office seekers to the Progressive party where they have always belonged. The machine here is composed of A. F. of L. fakers and reform Socialists who have repudiated Comrade Debs in the past and they are at the present time doing all in their power to do away with the democratic spirit and membership control in the organization. We are holding a regular Lyceum lecture course at Aschenbroedel Hall every Saturday night. Speakers from the I. W. W. Syndicalists, So-

cialists and social reformers have presented their various points of view. A lecture by Dr. Ray on "The Red Flag" last Saturday night was conceded by all to be one of the best ever given in St. Louis. Our meetings are well attended and revolutionary comrades will always find the Red Flag flying here.

Those Wide Awake Germans. Announcement is made that S. Fischer, Verlag, the largest publishing house in Germany, will shortly issue a complete edition in German of Gustavus Myers' "History of the Great American Fortunes." By request, two new extensive chapters have been added by Comrade Myers—one on "The Carnegie Fortune," the other on "The American Proletariat." These chapters will almost make a volume by themselves, and will also be published serially in "Die Neue Rundschau," one of the foremost magazines in Germany. The translators of the work are Dr. Arthur Holtscher and a Berlin professor of economics. A French edition of the work is also a future possibility. In addition, announcement is also made that Gustavus Myers has in preparation a comprehen-

sive new work entitled "The History of the Rise and Development of Capitalism in Canada."

Hitherto the Canadian Socialist movement has had no original literature dealing with native conditions. This volume will be an exhaustive work, describing the vital economic forces and processes from the early part of the seventeenth century to the present, and will combine the narrative of the accumulation of great private fortunes with a complete account of the origin and development of capitalism which is rapidly reaching its climax in Canada.

From the Toronto Central Committee. New York Call: As secretary of Local Toronto No. 1 I have been instructed to ask you to publish the following in your paper:

Whereas, a motion was passed by Local New York (published in the *New York Call*) that Gustavus Meyers be suspended, the same be published in the Bulletin and that Local Toronto be written to and all facts explained to them, and,

Whereas, this action on the part of Local New York was taken some six weeks ago and as they have failed to communicate with us, we deem it but fair to Comrade Meyers that the rank and file of the Socialist Party of the state know that Local Toronto was acquainted with the facts of the case before Comrade Meyers was asked to join the party. Comrade Meyers insisted upon this. Therefore, be it

Resolved, that a copy of this be placed upon the minutes, a copy sent to the *Weekly Bulletin*, the *New York Call*, and the *INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW*, P. C. Young, Secretary Local No. 1, S. D. P. of C.



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The photograph printed above shows the headquarters of the 18th Ward Branch of the Socialist Party of Pennsylvania. Six weeks prior to election they had brilliantly lighted headquarters every night and the best speakers obtainable to educate those who cared to hear about Socialism. The 18th Ward has many good Reds and they are always on the job. The photograph was sent us by Comrade Bauer.

Washington. Comrade Dennis, of Port Angeles, reports official vote for Clallan county, 610; the vote two years ago was 300. It won't take long at this rate of increase.

Comrade Beals, of Okanogan, reports 824 Socialist votes in that county.

Organizer Atkins, of Sumas, sends in a \$25 order for books and says, "Our vote sprang from 16 four years ago to 110 last week; a result largely due to the use of your books, pamphlets and the *REVIEW*." This is the best endorsement we have had yet. And we are going to keep on improving.

West Virginia. Official returns show Debs received 1,077 votes in Harrison county. Secretary Maxwell writes that Debs polled more votes than any other candidate in that county.

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